THE ANNUAL

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. XXII.

SESSIONS 1916–1917; 1917–1918.

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ΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

Οἵδ' Ἀΐδαν στέρξαντες ἐνόπλιον, οὐχ, ἅπερ ἄλλοι,
στάλαν, ἀλλ' ἀρετὰν ἀντ' ἀρετᾶς ἔλαχον.

Anth. Pal. vii. 252.

PONTUS, BITHYNIA AND THE BOSPORUS.[1]

I.

EVERYONE who has the slightest acquaintance with the Crimea at the present time, and especially with the economic conditions which prevail there, is thoroughly aware of its intimate connexion, both economic and social, with the southern coast of the Black Sea—with Samsun, Eregli, Sinope, Kerasund, Trebizond and other towns. Great masses of workmen from these parts flood the cities of the Crimea. Practically all shipments by sea in vessels of small displacement are carried out by the owners of feluccas, who hail from the municipal centres of ancient Pontus and from the neighbouring sea-towns of what was once Bithynia. A glance at the map is sufficient to show that there is no casual connexion here; the close interconnexion between the shores of the Crimea and the southern coast of the Black Sea, which is almost visible with the naked eye from the southernmost point of the Crimea, has been brought about by the natural conditions of the locality. The decline in the prosperity of the southern Turkish coast of the Black Sea and the great prosperity of the Crimea in the years immediately preceding the war were the chief reasons why the Crimea played the part of employer, and the sea towns of the southern coast the part of supplier of labour. They provided as well the necessary tonnage for coastwise shipping, mostly in the shape of small sailing vessels. Such could not always be the case, nor indeed have such conditions continuously prevailed, although, generally speaking, similar relations must needs be established quite independent of the fortune assigned by history to the districts with which we are now dealing.

[1] This essay was originally published in the *Russian Historical Journal*, i. (1917), 111–130 (Russian). For the translation into English I am indebted to the kindness of my former pupil, Dr. R. P. Blake.

The Crimea was always well supplied with the article which the southern coast of the Black Sea most needed, namely—grain: the latter district was always rich in metals and labour, and furthermore it was noted from antiquity onwards for its splendid harbours, which brought the population into close connexion with the sea. As a result of this, the nearest and most convenient market for the Crimea was always the coast to the south. It was quite natural, of course, that the Crimea, so enormously rich itself, and so closely connected with the south-Russian steppe area, could not be satisfied with this one market. Lively commercial relations were established as well with the towns of the western coast of the Black Sea, with the municipalities of the Bosporus, the Propontis and the Hellespont, and also with the large commercial centres of Asia Minor and of Hellas.

The greater or less intensity of the commercial relations between the Crimea, Pontus and Bithynia was naturally closely connected with the economic and political conditions prevailing in these localities at various periods.

A priori it seems exceedingly probable that these relations had already started during the period of the great cultural development of the southern Pontic districts, when the Hittite kingdom was at its apogee, and later on during the bloom of the Transcaucasian kingdom of Van (the Haldi kingdom). On the history of these states brilliant light has been shed of late by the recent finds of cuneiform texts and archaeological monuments. Even during the war the expedition of the Academy of Sciences to Van has increased our knowledge by some most important discoveries. I find reflections of these mutual relations in the traditions concerning the Amazons, whom Greek tradition locates on the southern as well as the northern coast of the Black Sea. We come into direct touch with these cultural and commercial connexions in certain recent discoveries in the Kuban district: I refer to the rich necropolis of the second millennium B.C., which was discovered by N. I. Vesolovskiĭ near Maikop and which has been recently worked up scientifically by B. V. Pharmakovskiĭ.[1] I shall try shortly to prove that this is no chance discovery, and that a number of other graves in the same district testify to the wide diffusion of Hittite-Haldi influence

[1] Cf. B. V. Pharmakovskiĭ, 'The Archaic Period in Russia,' *Materials for Russian Archaeology*. xxxiv. (1914), 15 ff. (Russ.).

in the Kûban region. It will be a task for future investigation to find out whether these influences penetrated by the land route through the Caucasus or by sea along the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus.

The enormous prosperity of the Greek settlements in Asia Minor, which follows closely upon the most flourishing period of the Haldi kingdom of Van (the seventh century B.C.); the fact that they colonized the most important points on the southern coast of the Black Sea and the Caucasus (Sinope, Amisus, Trebizond, Phasis, Dioscourias), on the shores of the straits and on the Propontis (Cyzicus, Lampsacus), and, finally, the settlement of the favourable points on the northern shore of the Black Sea and in the Crimea (Olbia, Panticapaeum, Phanagoria), taken in connexion with the mighty movement of the Scythians and Cimmerians, are the next important factors to appear on the scene. The last-named peoples brought with them to the shores of the Black Sea (primarily to the northern coast) a wave of intense Iranian cultural influence, which was closely connected with the old cultural centres of the Orient. This movement brought about the foundation of a powerful Scythian kingdom on the shores of the Black Sea and of the Sea of Azov, whose chief centres lay in the Kuban district, in the northern Crimea and on the northern coast of the Black Sea. This state was closely connected with the Greek colonies in this district, gave a new cultural aspect to the Crimea and the whole northern coast, and gradually drove into the background the whole connexion with the southern Pontic coast.

The new political and economic conditions gave rise to most intimate commercial relations throughout the whole area with which we are concerned. These were first of all with Ionia, then with Greece proper—more especially with Athens. They led to the establishment of an important commercial route, which ran along the Crimean coast, touching at the harbours of the northern and western coast of the Black Sea, came down to the havens of the straits and the Propontis and from thence to Asia Minor and to Athens. This new route impressed itself deeply upon the whole cultural aspect of the districts in the neighbourhood of the northern Pontus, from whence come the so-called Scythian articles, in which we observe a close interworking of Iranian and Hellenic-Oriental motives. Later on, purely Hellenic motives make their appearance. In the political developments in these districts, the chief rôle was played at first by Ionian influence; later on, beginning

with the fifth century B.C., Athens came to the fore. Economic conditions show the same development: it is very characteristic that in the coins of the powerful kingdom of the Bosporus which arose at this period, the exclusively Ionic influence yields place to a far-reaching dependence upon Cyzicus and the towns which stood in economic relation to it.

Into this current were drawn as well the Greek towns of the southern coast of the Black Sea, whose products were now exported in great quantities to the Mediterranean along the well-marked route which followed the southern shore of the Black Sea and then passed through the straits. As a result of this, it was, of course, natural that the cultural connexions between the southern coast and the northern one were weakened.

None the less they were by no means broken off. The history of the struggle of Heraclea with Panticapaeum for the mastery of Theodosia shows how tenaciously Heraclea, metropolis of the Chersonese, and one of the chief centres, cultural and economic, of the southern coast of the Black Sea, clung to her connexions with the Crimea and to her position as middleman between the Crimea and the Mediterranean towns. The astonishing similarity between the architectural structure and the topographical arrangement of Panticapaeum on the one hand and Amisus (Samsun) on the other, points to the close connexion of the Bosporus with the southern coast. We find the same relative position of the harbour and the citadel with its palace; the same chain of tumuli where the kings were buried; the same type of burial-chambers, cut out of the 'hardpan' of the hills, about which the town grew up.

The above-mentioned connexions became still closer in the earlier, and especially in the later period of Hellenism, when, on the southern and south-western strand of the Black Sea, there grew up two strong Hellenic states, Bithynia and Pontus, the first of which founded a number of flourishing municipal centres. We all know how the whole northern coast of the Black Sea came to form part of the great Pontic kingdom of Mithridates, but it has only recently become clear that previous to this time as well (in the second century B.C.), the growing kingdom of Pontus, which together with Bithynia had absorbed all the free Greek towns on the Pontic coast, was successfully busied in firmly establishing its influence

in the Crimea. These efforts became more and more effectual as peaceful relations with the Mediterranean basin came to be more difficult for the Crimea.[1] One after another the powers which swayed the fortunes of Hellenism crashed to the ground; first Egypt, then Macedonia, and, lastly, Rhodes, while the sea-route from the Euxine to the Mediterranean became more and more dangerous.

The stormy and troubled history of the Black Sea kingdom of Mithridates, ephemeral as it was, brought the Pontic districts into immediate conjunction with the world-wide power of Rome, which had already taken into account in her political moves in the Orient the power of the Greek colonies in the Euxine. I cannot in this place go into detail regarding the history of the relations of Rome with the Black Sea districts; I will merely point out that Rome, here as everywhere, slowly forged ahead step by step in the task of uniting to her possessions one peripheral district after another. This movement was not carried out wholly in accordance with a prearranged plan, nor was it entirely elemental and independent of any definite scheme. The principle governing her movements lay in the effective defence and guarding of the Graeco-Latin world from influence from without, and in the incorporation into the make-up of the empire of all those parts of the world, as it then was, which had absorbed this culture to a greater or less extent. The means, however, by which this principle was put into effect varied according to the internal political situation and to the success or failure of the military operations which were continually going on in the frontier regions.

In Bithynia the native dynasty became extinct. Immediately subsequent to this, in connexion with the Mithridatic wars, the country was made a Roman province, in spite of the fact that only a comparatively small part of it was organised and lived on Greek municipal lines. In the neighbouring Pontus, where up to its conquest by the Romans the Iranian-Asia Minor type of social organisation, with only an external varnish of Hellenism, had been the prevailing one, the situation was much more complicated. Hence we have the variations in policy, the long stretch of power accorded to the vassal dynasts, upon whom the mission was laid to Hellenise the country as far as possible, and to introduce a new type of social organisation—the municipal. This power was abolished

[1] See my article 'Siriscus, the Historian of the Tauric Chersonese,' in the *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, April, 1915 (Division of Classical Philology), 151 ff. (Russ.).

only under Nero, who dreamt of the possibility of restoring the Pontic kingdom of Mithridates, and of uniting to the Roman Empire the whole wreath of Greek and half-Greek towns, which had found foothold on the shores of the Black Sea.

The situation was still more complicated on the northern and on the Caucasian shore of Pontus. Already Augustus and his closest co-operator Agrippa had deemed it possible to found a new Roman province with its centre in the Crimea—Scythia Taurica. The basis, therefore, was to be the cultural work of the Bosporus Greeks, and the nucleus upon which they were to work was to be the kingdom of the Bosporus. The lack, however, of a solid connexion between the Danube provinces, which formed the centre of the Roman power to the north-east, the complicated political conditions in the Caucasus, and the might of the nearest neighbours of the Bosporus—the Sarmatians—combined with the political failures of Augustus on the Rhine and on the Danube during the last quarter of his reign, clearly showed, if not the impossibility of putting these measures into effect, at least that they were being undertaken before their due time.

None the less the idea was not entirely dropped. The Bosporus was brought into the closest political dependence upon Rome, as is clear from the coins alone, which are almost exactly of the Roman provincial type: its kings became agent-governors in the name of Rome, just like the kings of Pontus. In a word, by the time of Nero it appeared possible to take the same steps in the Bosporus as were taken in Pontus, *i.e.* to turn it into a Roman province.

To put this scheme into effect, however, proved to be impossible. Even the energy of the Flavian dynasty, which had been able, by the establishment of a military frontier protected by two legions, to give security from near-by Armenia and Parthia to the new, large province of Asia Minor which united in itself all the outlying districts along the Armenian border, was unable to cope with the task of founding a Roman province in the Crimea. The efforts of Vespasian and Titus were shattered by the wave of Sarmatians and Germans. Neither Domitian nor Trajan was able to overcome it, though the latter by the occupation of Dacia succeeded in holding back the deluge on the line of the Danube, and in preventing it from descending on the Greek towns near the Pontus.

What we have said is enough to give some idea, when we regard

it from the point of view which interests us now, of the form which the life of the Black Sea coast district must needs take on under those conditions. The connexion between the northern and southern coasts of the Euxine not only remained unweakened, but was bound to become even closer and firmer. Apart from the fact that, for a time after Mithridates as well, the Bosporus was united to Pontus under a single sceptre (under Pharnaces and later for a while under the two Polemos), the very trend of economic conditions and the development of the various districts of Pontus conduced towards bringing about the very same results. Under Roman sway the towns of Bithynia and at least the sea-ports of Pontus attained a very flourishing state. It was through them that the products of the new rich territories, opened up to cultural influence by Roman dominion, found a way out to the sea. In the meantime the northern Euxine coast began to lose its international significance as the supplier of food to the towns of Hellas and Asia Minor. The sphere of its economic influence began to grow smaller in direct proportion to the shrinkage of the circle of districts, adjacent to the Greek towns on the coast, which under new economic conditions had become centres of settled agricultural life. Thus the exports from the Crimea and the Bosporus now met the needs of those portions of the Roman empire immediately adjoining them. By means of this export they paid for the military defence of the Black Sea district, which was maintained by the legions of Moesia, by the fleets on the Danube and in the Black Sea, and, from the time of the Flavians onward, also by the legions of the new military province of Cappadocia-Galatia-Pontus. These *a priori* postulates, which are based upon data drawn from the general political and economical evolution of the Pontic districts in the early imperial period, find documental confirmation in a whole series of facts hitherto unnoticed or incorrectly interpreted.

In the field of the relations, cultural and primarily economic in their character, which we have mainly been discussing so far, we can note certain very characteristic phenomena. It would be very interesting first of all to utilise the numismatic material to illustrate the extent of mutual influence. There is, however, hardly a single locality from which we have fairly accurate data regarding the composition of the hoards of money which have been brought to light in the course of more or less systematic excavations. The rich material resulting from the excavations of B. V.

Pharmakovskiĭ at Olbia is still in the stage of determination and systematisation, so far as the numismatic material is concerned. The huge quantity of coins found in the ruins of Ai-Todor was only worked up in part, and is of no use for exact statistical deductions. The Chersonese gives material primarily for the later period. At Kertch the chief object of investigation is the necropolis, which has yielded only scattered finds of coins.

None the less it cannot be doubted that the coins of the towns on the southern coast of the Black Sea form by far the greater proportion of the finds dating from the first century B.C. Incidentally a huge amount of copper money was re-minted by the Bosporene kingdom at this period from the coins of Amisus and Sinope. Very nearly the same phenomenon is observable at Kertch for the early imperial period, though more accurate observations would be desirable.[1]

The epigraphical material is exceedingly significant. The number of inscriptions from Panticapaeum, from its surroundings and from Taman, which mention citizens of other towns residing within the boundaries of the kingdom of the Bosporus or maintaining close relations with it, is comparatively insignificant. None the less, statistics thereof are most instructive. For the fourth and third centuries B.C. we find a considerable mixture; we meet with three Heracleotes,[2] one Amisene,[3] one native of Kromna,[4] one Cypriote,[5] one Syracusan,[6] one Chian,[7] one Colophonian,[8] and one Paphlagonian.[9] Some of these people are mercenaries.

In the first century B.C. and in the Roman period there is a decided change in the picture. The variation disappears, and we have to do almost exclusively with natives of the provinces of Bithynia and Pontus; a male and a female citizen of Amisus,[10] an Heracleote,[11] an Amastrian,[12] a native of Tyana,[13] and a number of Sinopese,[14] with whom, of course, cultural and economic relations were especially close.

[1] The finds at Ai-Todor are less characteristic, since the fact that the soldiers belonged to the Moesian army exerted an influence on the character of the money in circulation there. None the less here as well, together with the coins of Byzantium, Marcianopolis, Nicopolis on the Ister, Odessa, Pautalia, Tomi and Plotinopolis, we find a series of coins of Bithynia, Sinope, Amastris and the Pontic Dioscourias. Cf. M. Rostovtsev, 'The Sanctuary of the Thracian Gods and the Inscriptions of the Beneficiaries at Ai-Todor,' *Reports of Imp. Arch. Comm.* 40. 36 (Russ.).

[2] *Inscr. or. septentr. Pont. Eux.* ii. 188, 289; iv. 199.

[3] *l.c.* ii. 286, p. 308. [4] *l.c.* ii. 291. [5] *l.c.* ii. 292. [6] *l.c.* ii. 300.

[7] *l.c.* iv. 304. [8] *l.c.* iv. 401. [9] *l.c.* ii. 296. [10] *l.c.* ii. 286 and 287.

[11] *l.c.* ii. 44 and 46. [12] *l.c.* ii. 285. [13] *l.c.* ii. 306.

[14] *l.c.* 298, 299; *Rep. Imp. Arch. Comm.* 18. 132, 49; 14. 124, 47.

A somewhat less rich picture, but of the same general type, is afforded by the Chersonese. For the early period we have one Rhodian[1]; for the period of Mithridates, two Sinopese[2]; in the Roman period, exclusively inhabitants of Pontus and Bithynia; three Amastrians,[3] four Heracleotes,[4] and one Sinopese.[5]

The picture given by Olbia, as one would naturally expect, is slightly different. In the earlier period we have mainly inhabitants of the western coast of the Black Sea: one Kallatian[6]; two Mesembrians,[7] together with one Rhodian.[8]

The relations in the Roman period are brought into relief by two inscriptions of the second century A.D.[9]—a decree in honour of a citizen of Olbia, set up by all the important towns of the northern coast of the Black Sea (Tyras, Olbia, Chersonese, and the Bosporus), by all the most important towns of the southern coast and the province of Pontus-Bithynia (Nicomedia, Nicaea, Tion, Prusa, Apameia, Heracleia, Sinope, Amastris), by the most important centres of the Propontis (Cyzicus and Byzantium), and by the chief towns on the western coast (Odessos, Tomi, Istros, Kallatis). Of the towns outside the Black Sea area we find but one—Miletus.

Just about the same picture for the Roman period is afforded by separate inscriptions: one Amastrian,[10] one Amisene,[11] one Nicomedian,[12] who is likewise a citizen of Tomi; a decree of Byzantium in honour of a citizen of Olbia.[13] We may recall also Dion of Prusa and his speech at Olbia.[14]

This collection of data shows clearly how closely the northern coast of the Black Sea was confined within itself during the period of Roman dominion, and how intimate were the economic and social connexions above all as far as the Crimea was concerned, with the province of Pontus-Bithynia. We shall obtain a still clearer picture, however, by examining the history of the province of Pontus-Bithynia itself in conjunction with the history of the Bosporus during the Roman period.

[1] *Inscr. or. sept. P. Eux.* i.² 340.
[2] *l.c.* i.² 351 and 352; the latter is the well-known inscription in honour of Diophantus.
[3] *l.c.* i.² 358, 542, 543. [4] *l.c.* i.² 357, 359, 545, 546. [5] *l.c.* i.² 364.
[6] *l.c.* i.² 27. [7] *l.c.* i.² 20, 688. [8] *l.c.* i.² 30. [9] *l.c.* i.² 40 and 41.
[10] *l.c.* i.² 233. [11] *l.c.* i.² 35—Mithridatic period. [12] *l.c.* i.² 174—an architect.
[13] *l.c.* i.² 791. [14] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 36. ed. v. Arnim.

II.

The data which we possess regarding conditions in the province of Pontus and Bithynia, which was established under Pompey and existed from that time on with greater or lesser territorial changes down to the epoch of Diocletian and Constantine, are relatively abundant.[1] This is particularly clear when we compare the material with that which is at our disposal in the case of other neighbouring provinces. It is particularly rich for the end of the first, and the beginning of the second century A.D. For this we are indebted to the orations of the Bithynian Dion Chrysostomus and to the well-known letters of Pliny to Trajan regarding the administration of Bithynia. This province had been entrusted to a legate specially empowered by the emperor as an extraordinary measure, in spite of the fact that the province of Bithynia had been from the very beginning a senatorial province.

The interesting fact of the special mission of Pliny, in conjuction with the personality of the legate, which has always attracted the attention of classicists and historians of Roman literature, has led historians to make a particularly close study of the history of the government of this province. Their interest has been heightened in view of the fact that, in any case, one, and perhaps two, inscriptions have been preserved where this appointment is mentioned among the higher official positions which were held by Pliny. Investigation has revealed a series of peculiarities in the government of this province, which have not so far found an adequate explanation.[2]

A careful study of (primarily) the epigraphical material has shown first of all that the province of Pontus and Bithynia remained a senatorial province even after the foundation under the Flavians of the great military district of Galatia-Pontus-(Lesser) Armenia-Cappadocia, in spite of the further changes in the structure of the military command just mentioned.[3] It was primarily the stormy yet rather aimless conditions of

[1] Cf. Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, i. 349 ff.; Brandis, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* ii. 524 ff.

[2] The literature on the career of Pliny is given by Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* ii.[2] (1913), 351. The basic investigation (revised in the last edition) is the classical article of Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* v. 366 ff.).

[3] On this point see Fr. Cumont, 'Le gouvernement de Cappadoce sous les Flaviens,' *Bull. de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 1905, 197 ff.; E. Ritterling, *Oester. Jahresh.* x. (1907), 299 ff.; Brandis, in Pauly-Wissowa, vii. 552 ff. (*s.v.* 'Galatia'). From 107 A.D. the command was divided into two parts, Cappadocia being united to Pontus.

life in the municipalities, which are so clearly portrayed for us by Dion Chrysostomus, and which formed such a favourable field for the exactions and thievery of the Roman governors, combined with the difficult financial situation of many of the communities, which led under Trajan and Hadrian to the dispatch of special legates or *correctores*, whose chief task was to regulate the municipal life of the provinces, and to bring order into the abnormal conditions which manifested themselves therein, and led to the conflicts between the Bithynians and their senatorial rulers in the forum of the senatorial and imperial courts, to which Pliny and Tacitus are continually referring.[1] Incidentally, in addition to the peculiarities in the conditions in Bithynia and Pontus about which we learn from Pliny, these districts have a number of factors in their general composition, which deserve to be noted along with their municipal peculiarities.

We must remember, first of all, that Bithynia, and especially Pontus, were regions which had stood from ancient times onward under a monarchical form of government of the old Asiatic type. This is based, as I have had reason to point out more than once, upon the principle that the whole territory of the state is personally held by the king. Certain districts were granted by him to his closest associates as fiefs, and a certain amount of temple lands were excepted. A certain amount of land was handed over to the Greek towns which had previously owned these territories to a certain extent, at the time when they were still independent states, before their subjection to the Hellenised rulers of Bithynia and Pontus.

These conditions fell to the heritage of the Romans. In spite of the attempt of Pompey, who followed the political maxims of the Seleucids in so far as he endeavoured to make the municipality the predominant form of social and economical organisation in Pontus and Bithynia; in spite of the fact that he built up very extensive municipal units, there none the less remained in the hands of Rome enormous landed estates, which had once belonged to the kings.[2] Of these estates, which were inhabited by serfs,[3] there were, of course, no small number in Bithynia, but still more in Pontus.[4]

[1] Regarding this see A. von Premerstein, in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 1647 ff. (*s.v.* 'Corrector'): cf. *Klio*, xii. (1913), 81; James S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1913, 473. [2] *Agri Bithynici regii*; Cicero speaks of them *de leg. agr.* 2, 19, 50.

[3] One naturally recalls the Thracian Mariandyni, who were from ancient times serfs on the territory of Heraclea. [4] Cic. *l.c.* 51.

We now know, thanks to the comparatively careful study of the districts of the provinces of Asia, and more especially of Phrygia by Sterrett, Ramsay and the Austrians, what was the fate of the large landed estates of the Pergamene kings in Asia and in Phrygia. We know that, largely owing to Antony and his followers, the majority of these estates fell into the hands of Augustus and his successors, and formed the basis of the colossal landed possessions of the imperial house. We find no mention of the *agri publici* here in the imperial period.[1]

I do not know what the reasons may be which lead Hirschfeld[2] to deny the existence of a similar development in Bithynia and Pontus. The social form of organisation there reflected even more clearly the basic lines of Oriental-Iranian[3] government than did the conditions in the provinces of Asia and Phrygia. For me there can be no doubt that here as well as in Phrygia and in neighbouring Asia, the imperial domains comprised a good share of the province, and that here also the largest portion of the population lived in the condition of serfdom.

Exceedingly important for the general organisation of the government was the fact that here, as well as in neighbouring Cappadocia, horse-breeding had long flourished, which formed the source of the supply of horses for the Roman cavalry regiments. We possess definite epigraphical evidence regarding this matter, which deals with the relations between the military remount contractors and the managers of the imperial studs.[4]

In connexion with this it is necessary to remember how important in a military way was the province of Pontus-Bithynia. True, it was not a frontier province in the strict sense of the word. Were this not the case, it could never have been entrusted to senatorial proconsuls. Up to the time of Nero it was separated from the military frontier by the vassal state of Pontus, which was under the rule of the Polemonids. None the less, however, the military rôle of the province could not be otherwise than important. In the first place, it was the duty of this province to protect the large commercial harbours with which the coast was studded;

[1] See my *Studien zur Gesch. d. röm. Kolonates*, 283 ff.

[2] See O. Hirschfeld, *Kl. Schr.* 566.

[3] *i.e.* in the last stage of its development.

[4] Cf. the inscription from Dacibyza, *Inscr. gr. ad res rom. pert.* ii. 2; my *Stud. zur Gesch. d. röm. Kol.* 197, 1. The remounters mentioned here belong to the same *coh. iv. equestris*, about which Pliny speaks (*Ep. ad Tr.* 106, 107). Cf. Cichorius in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 284 (*s.v.* 'Cohors').

Heraclea, Amastris, Sinope and Amisus always formed a part of the province, and with them were connected the weightiest commercial interests of the Roman empire. The *ora Pontica*, just like the *ora Thraciae* had to be occupied with troops and guarded by a fleet.[1]

Furthermore, the management of the domains themselves required armed force, and those detachments which were at the disposal of Pliny during the time he was a legate could of course be used for this purpose as well.[2]

The military significance of the province became still greater in view of the fact that Bithynia and Pontus formed the natural route along which military forces could and must needs move on their way to the Orient. By this route went all the reinforcements for the armies of the Syrian frontier which were taken from the nearest well-garrisoned military district of the Roman empire—Lower Moesia. Under Nero, after the annexation of Pontus, when the interchange of detachments with the west must needs become particularly intensive, it became necessary to take particular care to bring the old routes of communication along the coast into the proper condition, and to see that the passing regiments were supplied with food. This question inevitably became specially acute under the Flavians and again under the Antonines. At that time the military commanders in Cappadocia, and the regularity of the operations of the two legions, *i.e.* two armies, which were stationed there, was wholly and entirely dependent upon the exact and regular shipment of food and of military supplies as well as reinforcements, both by sea along the harbours of the northern coast of the Euxine and by land along the great coast road. Such a state of affairs, combined with the rôle which the towns of Pontus and Bithynia were destined to play in it, to a considerable extent explains the interest which Trajan and Hadrian displayed in Pontus and Bithynia. This interest found expression in the above-mentioned sendings of special

[1] On the *classis Pontica* see Fiebiger, in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 2643 (*s.v.* 'Classis'): cf. Premerstein, in *Klio*, xiii. (1913), 81.

[2] In this regard one of Pliny's letters to Trajan is particularly interesting; its commencement, unfortunately, has not been preserved. This is one of those letters of introduction to his subordinate officials, which Pliny presumably wrote towards the close of his mission. One is written to the procurator Maximus (*Ep. ad Tr.* 85); the other to the *praefectus orae Ponticae* Gavius Rufus (*Ep.* 86). The name of the bearer is not preserved in the letter as we have it, but it no doubt concerned a man who had much to do with troops, but at the same time also with the *pagani*, *i.e.* the non-urban population of Bithynia; cf. *Ep. ad Tr.* 87: *apud me et milites et pagani, a quibus iustitia eius et humanitas penitus inspecta est, certatim ei qua privatim qua publice testimonia perhibuerunt.*

legati-correctores, empowered by the emperor, and also in the fact that Marcus Aurelius was forced by these very military considerations to take Pontus and Bithynia under imperial control.[1]

With the above was closely connected the system, which may have been worked out completely at a slightly later date, of the supplying of armies passing through the provinces by means of liturgies imposed upon the towns—the so-called παράπεμψις (*prosecutio*).[2]

Lastly, these same military considerations, primarily in conjunction with the long existing close relations between the northern and southern coast of the Black Sea brought about, and must have perforce brought about, very close ties between the administration of Bithynia and Pontus and Rome's vassal, the Bosporus, which could alone supply the towns of the southern Pontic coast and the armies in Cappadocia with grain, hides, and fish. The district which supplied the rear of the Armenian-Parthian front of the forces of Rome included not only the province of Bithynia-Pontus, but the kingdom of the Bosporus as well.

This rear was defended in the early imperial period almost exclusively by the entire military forces, both land and naval, of the kingdom of the Bosporus. Regarding this, we have the definite statement of Strabo,[3] which is confirmed by Tacitus[4] in his mention of the fleet of Polemo in the troubled year of the four emperors. In connexion with the matter of naval defence, the Roman administrators played the rôle of interferers rather than that of aiders. Matters altered somewhat when Nero became engaged in the great Armenian adventure which is connected with the name of Corbulo. At that time it became clear that decisive measures must be taken to protect the Roman rear. This necessity it was, no doubt, which brought about the annexation of the vassal state of Pontus, and the attempt to annex the Bosporus. In any case, it was the reason why the defence of the Crimea was entrusted during this period to the regular Roman troops of the Moesian army and to a squadron of the Roman fleet. At this time a special Pontic fleet was established in Pontus which included the whole fleet of the last Polemo.

[1] See on this Brandis, in *Hermes*, xxxi. (1896), 161 ff.; Premerstein, in *Klio*, xiii. (1913), 80 ff.

[2] Cf. a series of inscriptions from Prusias, which date from the period of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, where this oppressive *munus* is taken upon themselves by the most prominent citizens of the town; *Inscr. gr. ad res rom. pert.* iii. 60, 66, 67, 1421, cf. 1412. See my article in Pauly-Wissowa, vii. 164 and 170.

[3] xi. 2, 120, 496. [4] *Hist.* iii. 47.

The interruption in this defensive system under Domitian and Trajan in connexion with events on the Danube again imposed a responsible rôle upon the Bosporus, now once more brought into connexion with Pontus-Bithynia—this time with particular force. However, it appears that on this occasion the forces of the Bosporus proved insufficient to fulfil the task which was laid upon them—the defence of the rear and the provisioning of the Cappadocian army of Trajan. Hadrian was forced to renew the system of Nero upon a larger scale, that is to say, the Crimea was occupied by the troops, and its harbours by the fleet, of the Moesian army.[1]

Under these conditions one can understand that the problem of governing Pontus and Bithynia with all its complicated economic, diplomatic and military problems could not be imposed upon the senatorial praetorian proconsul. The emperor needed to have his own responsible agent here, who would watch over his interests and be an obedient tool in his hands.

All that we have said above explains to us one peculiarity in the administration of Bithynia and Pontus, which has hitherto either been misunderstood or incorrectly interpreted. I have in view the fact that there existed, along with the proconsul, who apparently had to do primarily with the municipal territories of Bithynia and Pontus, a special procurator whose functions exceeded the limits of those of the ordinary procurators in the senatorial provinces.

Let us first of all establish the facts. Under Claudius we find in Bithynia, at the same time as the proconsul Cadius Rufus (48–49 A.D.), the procurator Junius Cilo. Under Nero there stood at the head of the province the usual proconsuls; we know of three of them from the coins; P. Attius Laco (probably about 55–59 A.D.), L. Montanus and M. Tarquitius Priscus.[2] In the years 57–58, however, the procurator G. Julius Aquila is building a road in Bithynia. Lastly, at the end of the reign of Vespasian, on the coins of Bithynia, where the names of the proconsuls are usually

[1] Regarding the above I have had reason to discuss these matters on various occasions in connexion with the publication of various inscriptions which deal with the occupation of various points in the Crimea and the Caucasus by Roman troops. See those inscriptions at present in the new edition of V. Latyshev, *Inscr. or. Sept. Pont. Eux.* I. 167, 236, 237, 322 (Olbia), 417, 449, 557, 561, 748; cf. 562, 656 (Chersonese), 674 ff. (Ai-Todor, cf. p. 508 ff.), in part with my commentary and with notices of articles previously written by me regarding them.

[2] He was brought to account in the year 61 A.D.—Tac. *Ann.* 14. 46.

mentioned, appears the procurator L. Antonius Naso,[1] but almost at the same time the coins mention the proconsul M. Maecius Rufus, who was in Bithynia in any case in the year 79 A.D., and before him the province had been under the government of M. Plancius Verus and P. Salvidienus Asprenas, who, it may be, is the same person as P. Salvidienus Proculus.[2]

It is difficult to believe with Hirschfeld that we have here *procuratores-praesides*, who interrupt for a time the series of proconsuls. Their appearance in the province would mean that for the time being the government of the province passed from the senate's control into the hands of the emperor. Such an alternating system of administration is entirely out of accord with the well-ordered character of the provincial government of the time of Claudius and Vespasian. Against this view speak the chronological facts quoted above, which testify to the almost indubitable contemporaneous presence in the province of the proconsuls and the procurators mentioned.[3] It is therefore clear that the procurators existed together with the proconsuls, and worked in the province along with them.

None the less, there can be no doubt that Hirschfeld is right in pointing out the peculiar position which these procurators assumed in the province. That is to say, it is impossible to consider them (as Brandis does) as ordinary imperial procurators, who had charge of the property interests of their master.

In fact, let us take a closer look at each one of these procurators and their individual careers.

The first of them, Junius Cilo, receives the honorary commission of escorting to Rome the captive king of the Bosporus, Mithridates VII. (II.), who had previously been defeated by the Moesian armies under the command of Didius Gallus and G. Julius Aquila.[4] Such a commission could not be a chance one, but it would be one which the governor of a whole province would hardly receive, which position, according to Hirschfeld, was held by Cilo. It is necessary to think that Cilo, in view

[1] Cf. *C.I.L.* iii. 6993—the construction of a road in the year 78 A.D.

[2] We now have a collection of the coins which mention the names of Roman magistrates and officials in the work of R. Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen*, in the *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1911, 1912, 1914, and separate Vienna, 1914, 129 (61) ff. The majority of the coins are now accessible in a good edition in Babelon-Reinach, *Recueil*, i. 2 and 3.

[3] Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, 346 ff.; *Kleine Schriften*, 26, 1; 566, 9; 714, 7; against his view, Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 529 ff.

[4] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 26.

of his official position, took an active part together with Julius Aquila in the whole episode of the extradition of Mithridates, both in the diplomatic correspondence which took place with Eunones, the king of the Aorsi, regarding the surrender of Mithridates,[1] and in the successful conclusion of the negotiations. He took of course an active part in the transference of Mithridates by sea from the Bosporus to Bithynia, which presupposes close relations on his part with the vassal kings of Pontus and the Bosporus, to whose fleet at this time was entrusted the defence of the Black Sea.[2] Lastly, the *prosecutio* or παράπεμψις of Mithridates presupposes that Cilo had at his disposal a certain amount of troops. Only such an active and prominent part in the whole affair with Mithridates, combined with a share in the success of the expedition, can explain the high reward which Cilo received—the *ornamenta consularia.* Aquila, the conqueror of Mithridates, obtained the *ornamenta praetoria*—these, too, an exceptional and high honour.

It is characteristic that in this whole affair, which of course covered a longer period of time than just the year 49 A.D., the regular administrative officers of Bithynia, the proconsul and his assistants, the legate and the quaestor pro praetore, take no part whatsoever. Evidently they were deliberately kept out of these military and diplomatic affairs, which was of course entirely explicable and expedient from the point of view of the imperial policy. The entire field of foreign policy was exclusively an imperial domain, and the approach to it for senatorial governors was carefully blocked. It is now easy to understand why one of the closest successors of Cilo, perhaps even his immediate successor, for procurators sometimes remained in office for a very long time, was his co-operator in the affair of Mithridates, G. Julius Aquila. We may remember that the time of Nero was a period when close attention was paid to Bosporan affairs; also that at that time the head of the Bosporan state was the youthful Cotys, who stood in need of support and wise counsel; it therefore seems exceedingly probable to us that the policy of Nero with regard to the Bosporus and his attempt to annex the kingdom have something to do with the exceptional activity of Aquila in his capacity as procurator of Pontus and Bithynia. We must remember that Aquila himself was a Bithynian by birth, evidently belonging to a prominent family of Amastrian citizens who became Roman citizens perhaps under

[1] Tac. *l.c.* 18 ff. [2] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 47.

Augustus. Even before he became procurator he took part in the construction of a road near his city,[1] and, evidently in conjunction with his previous career, he received the command of the division which was sent to the Bosporus.

It is interesting to note that, while he was procurator, he built a road from Apamea to Nicaea.[2] That is to say he put through that very same work for the rear of the army, which stood in close connexion, as we showed above, with the military plans of Nero in the Orient.

An important position was held in Bithynia by the third relatively well-known procurator of this province, L. Antonius Naso, a former praetorian tribune, once turned out by Galba,[3] but later restored to his rights.[4]

His past career alone shows that we have to deal with an officer of comparatively high rank. To him, as such, was given the position of procurator of Bithynia under the Flavians, at the time when the military reorganisation mentioned above of the eastern provinces of Asia Minor was going on. His high position in Bithynia is characterised by the fact that his name appears upon the coins concurrently with that of the proconsul. Such a position, almost equal to that of the proconsul, makes it possible to understand why Cilo was brought to account under Claudius at the same time as Cadius Rufus for *repetundae*.[5] It is also characteristic that Naso likewise was engaged in the construction of a road in Bithynia.[6]

It is interesting that a certain A. Ofellius M. f. Macedo had a career very much like that of Naso.[7] He was also a tribune of the praetorians, later a tribune of the legio I Minervia, procurator of Epirus with the rights of the governor of the province, and only after this was he procurator of Pontus and Bithynia. The culmination of his career was the high court office of the procurator of the *ἀπο[κρί]σεων—a responsis*, which is attested, if the restoration be correct, only in this one place.

[1] See *C.I.L.* iii. 6983; *Inscr. gr. ad res rom. pert.* iii. 83.

[2] See *C.I.L.* iii. 346, add. p. 976. [3] Tac. *Hist.* i. 20.

[4] His military career is given by *C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. 14386 ff. From this inscription we see that he had had a long career in the regular army and in all sections of the guard, which began from the lower ranks; of course only the centurionates and the positions above this are noted. Unfortunately this inscription, which was found at Baalbek, is only a fragment, in which is preserved the beginning of the text. The fact that it was found there shows, perhaps, that the career of Naso in the Orient began or ended not only in Pontus and Bithynia.

[5] Dio Cassius, 60, 33; A.D. 50. [6] *C.I.L.* iii. 6993.

[7] Inscription from Nicopolis in Epirus, Lebas, ii. 1076; Dessau, 8849; cf. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, 295. 3.

Unfortunately, we do not know in what period the inscription quoted is to be placed. It is most unlikely, however, that it belongs to a period later than the end of the first century A.D. In any case we see that in the first century as well, the position of the procurator of Bithynia must have been at least one of the *ducenaria*, as was the case later on, at the beginning of the third century A.D., when the province was under the government of one of the legates of the emperor.[1]

It is clear that the procurators of Bithynia and Pontus in the first century A.D. as well, were not the usual mere managers of the imperial property, but occupied high and responsible positions, which approached those held by the procurators who governed provinces. This situation was brought about by the peculiarities of the Bithynian administrative system, which made it impossible to entrust important financial, diplomatic, and military affairs to the senatorial proconsuls.

The picture which we thus obtain is completely confirmed by an analysis of the correspondence from Bithynia of Pliny with Trajan. As a legate of the emperor, who had been sent to Bithynia in accordance with a *senatus consultum* with consular or proconsular power, in the province he united within himself the functions of a proconsul and of a procurator.

I have already pointed out that his chief task was to *corrigere statum* of the towns or to *excutere rationes rerum publicarum*.[2] Together with this, however, in accordance with the instructions of the emperor, his activities were directed towards a series of other important tasks. We learn in the first place that he had at his disposal a considerable amount of troops, presumably forces detached from the Moesian army.[3] We see that he is in command of a number of cohorts ;[4] he makes a levy of recruits ;[5] uses soldiers for police purposes ;[6] detaches them to protect the coast under the orders of the *praefectus orae Ponticae* who is under his command ;[7] assigns them to garrison duty to keep order in the towns.[8] In

[1] See the inscription of P. Sallustius Sempronius Victor, *Prosopographia imp. rom.* iii. 160, No. 69 ; A. von Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, 141 and 147 ; unfortunately Domaszewski does not establish the chronology of his material. The inscription, of a similar type, of L. Titinius Clodianus (*C.I.L.* viii. 8329) is likewise of uncertain date. He was procurator of Pontus and Bithynia after holding the position of procurator Alpium Maritimarum ; cf. *Prosop. imp. rom.* iii. 327, 190 ; Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, 143. 1.

[2] *Ep.* 18. [3] Cf. *Epp.* 19, 20, 21, 29, 52, 53, 74, 77, 86B, 100, 101, 106, 107.

[4] *Ep.* 21 ; *ut ex cohortibus quibus me praeesse voluisti ; Ep.* 106 mentions the coh. vi. equestris and its commander P. Accius Aquila.

[5] *Ep.* 29. [6] *Epp.* 19, 20. [7] *Ep.* 21. [8] *Ep.* 74.

connexion with the above he acts entirely independently, and deals with the legate of Moesia, Calpurnius Macro, as an equal with equals.[1]

Of the highest interest is his care for the liturgies of the towns, which were brought about by the continual passage of officers and soldiers, and presumably by the movements of military detachments. We have before us, evidently, the fundamental measures for a future *prosecutio exercituum*. In this connexion letter 77[2] is very characteristic, in which he asks permission of the emperor to send a centurion to Juliopolis to supervise the transit. His request, however, is refused. The motivation of the same is typical; *dispice, an etiam Iuliopolitanis simili ratione consulendum putes, quorum civitas, cum sit perexigua, onera maxima sustinet tantoque graviores iniurias, quanto est infirmior, patitur. Quidquid autem Iuliopolitanis praestiteris, id etiam toti provinciae proderit. Sunt enim in capite Bithyniae plurimisque per eam commeantibus transitum praebent.*

The most interesting of all, however, are his relations with the procurators. The procurator of the province at his time was Virdius Gemellinus,[3] who was probably[4] the son of that Virdius Geminus who put down the revolt in Pontus in the year 69 A.D.[5] Tacitus calls him *spectatae militiae:* what position he held we do not know. At the disposal of Virdius Gemellinus were ten *beneficiarii*, who had been assigned to him by Pliny, and a number of freedmen assistants; Maximus, who was buying grain in the province—apparently for the army;[6] Lycormas, about whom we shall speak below,[7] and Epimachus.[8]

These procurators are undoubtedly under the orders of Pliny, but at the same time evidently hold a high and comparatively independent position.

Lastly, the relations between Pliny and king Sauromates of the Bosporus are of importance. I have already mentioned that Trajan gave Sauromates I. a free hand in the matter of the defence of the

[1] *Epp.* 42, 61, 62, 77. [2] Cf. also *Ep.* 78.
[3] *Epp.* 27, 28, 84. [4] *Prosop. imp. rom.* iii. 446, 473 and 474.
[5] Tac. *Hist.* iii. 27, 28.
[6] *Epp.* 27, 28. At the disposal of the procurators who bought the grain for the army was a complete set of minor officials. One of them, a *dispensator ad frumentum*, is mentioned in the inscription *C.I.L.* iii. 333; *Inscr. gr. ad res rom. pert.* iii. 25. To what extent Bithynia could be supplied by grain raised within her own borders, and how important in this regard were the regular commercial relations with the Bosporus, is shown by Dio's *oratio*, where he defends himself before his fellow citizens of Prusa (*Or.* 46). From it we see that troubles with the grain-supply were not infrequent in Bithynian and Pontic towns.
[7] *Epp.* 63, 67. [8] *Ep.* 84.

Black Sea and the Crimea. In letter 63 Pliny informs the emperor, that his imperial freedman Lycormas had asked him (Pliny) to detain the ambassadors from the Bosporus until he himself should arrive. At this time a courier, who got there ahead of Lycormas, came in from the Bosporus with a letter from Sauromates to Trajan. Pliny did not desire to detain the courier, as he wished that Trajan should be informed about the situation both through the letter of Sauromates and that of Lycormas. Pliny acts in the same way with the ambassador of Sauromates,[1] whom also he did not detain till the arrival of Lycormas.

It would be exceedingly interesting to know who Lycormas was. I suggested above that he, like Maximus and Epimachus, was procurator for Bithynia, the assistant of Virdius Gemellinus, but Pliny nowhere speaks of him as procurator. It therefore seems more likely that we have to do with a special ambassador of the emperor, who was perhaps regularly stationed on the Bosporus, but who also spent part of the time in Bithynia as well,[2] from whence he ought to have sent the letter to Trajan. He was evidently on bad terms with Sauromates.

Whoever Lycormas was, one thing is clear. Diplomatic relations with the Bosporus pass through Bithynia. Moreover, the governor of this district is ignored, and they are carried on either through the procurator or through special personal agents of the emperor. This connexion with Bithynia is explained in addition to the above by the further fact that upon this province lay the obligation of paying the kings of the Bosporus a yearly subsidy for the support of their fleet and army. We do not know when this was introduced, but such was the case under Marcus Aurelius, when Eupator was ruling on the Bosporus.[3] It is possible that the sending of Lycormas was connected with these same financial questions, and this again makes it probable that he belonged to the procuratorial staff of Bithynia.

However matters stood there, it is clear that Pliny inherited his functions from the past. It can hardly be probable that troops appeared there for the first time under Pliny, nor was it then for the first time that the towns along the main road had so much to bear from the

[1] *Ep.* 67. [2] So we would infer from *Ep.* 63.

[3] Cf. Lucian, *Alex.* 57 : παραπλέοντας εὑρὼν Βοσποριανούς τινας πρέσβεις παρ' Εὐπάτορος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἐπιόντας ἐπὶ κομιδῇ τῆς ἐπετείου συντάξεως. On this see Cumont, *Mém. de l'Acad. de Belg.* 1887 (40), 49 ff.; Premerstein in *Klio*, 1913, 81 : for the third century A.D., cf. Zos. i. 31. 2.

continuous passage of soldiers and officers, nor was it then that the necessity of buying grain in large quantities for the army first came up, and so forth.

If all this existed before, it is clear that such matters could not lie within the competence of the proconsul, but were wholly in the hands of the procurator, so that the rôle which the latter official played in Bithynia was far from being the usual one. A considerable part of the exceptional importance of this rôle arose from the fact that Bithynia stood in the closest possible connexion with the Bosporus. We therefore see that if the Bosporus was dependent in a military way upon Moesia, in administrative and diplomatic lines it was exclusively in touch with Pontus and with Bithynia, with whom it was and had been united by continuous, most active and very ancient economic and cultural relations.

M. ROSTOVTSEF.

STRABO AND DEMETRIOS OF SKEPSIS.

(PLATE I.)

THOUGH the name of Demetrios of Skepsis is hardly known to us except through Strabo, he was in his way a remarkable man. The only independent account of him is a mention by Diogenes Laertius as one in a list of well-known namesakes; *ἐνδέκατος Σκήψιος, πλούσιος καὶ εὐγενὴς ἄνθρωπος καὶ φιλόλογος ἄκρως· οὗτος καὶ Μητρόδωρον προεβίβασε τὸν πολίτην* (V. v. 11). The date of his birth is fairly closely fixed by his own statement in Strabo (XIII. i. 27) that he visited Ilium as a boy (*μειράκιον*) when the Romans landed in Asia to attack Antiochus, *i.e.* in 190 B.C. The word *μειράκιον* may be taken to mean anything from about 14 to 20 years of age. Demetrios therefore cannot have been born much before or after 205 B.C. Some surprise may be felt at the statement that he gave Metrodoros his start in life; Metrodoros, the friend of Mithridates, died, as we know from Strabo (XIII. i. 55) and Plutarch (*Lucullus* 22) in or immediately after 70 B.C. The lives of the two men therefore cover some 135 years; if both lived to be 75, Metrodoros can only have been 15 at Demetrios' death. The description of Demetrios as 'a man of wealth and birth, and a scholar to his finger-tips' is quite borne out by what we know of his works. He plainly inherited the tradition of the little nest of Platonists and Aristotelians who were established at Skepsis and the neighbouring Assos; he was an enthusiast for Homer and geography, and devoted his life to a geographical commentary on Homer, and more particularly to the Trojan Catalogue, which so nearly concerned his native Troad. He found place, however, for excursuses of very wide range; for instance the long one on the Kuretes in Strabo X. iii. 19–22. Another on the changes in the face of the earth produced by volcanic action is quoted in I. iii. 17.

But it is from Strabo's long chapter on the Troad that we learn most about this not uninteresting scholar, who was the first to invent a new method of Homeric enquiry, testing Homer's geographical data in comparison with known facts. The method was taken up, and expanded with larger resources, by a more famous man, Apollodoros; it is, I believe, a method which can still be followed with profit; and it is a pleasure and duty to mention with honour the first discoverer of it.

In the following pages I hope to give a somewhat more detailed account of his relations to Strabo than can be found elsewhere. That Demetrios was Strabo's main authority for the Troad we learn, as will appear, very explicitly from Strabo himself. But it is not at first sight clear whether Strabo took all his information at second-hand from Demetrios, or whether he was able, from personal knowledge, to control and expand what he read in the thirty books of 'the Skepsian.' To this question we will first address ourselves.

I.

Did Strabo travel in the Troad?

The question is not of primary importance for our judgment of Strabo, as he never professes that he travelled in these parts. But as some writers have taken for granted that he did, and regarded his descriptions as, at least in part, those of an eye-witness, it is worth while to see what evidence there is on the matter.

Strabo's own account of his travels will be found in II. v. 11. He was, of course, a native of Amaseia in Pontus. He says that he travelled westwards as far as the coast of Tyrrhenia opposite Sardinia, eastwards to Armenia, and from the Euxine in the north to the frontier of Aethiopia in the south. No one, he adds, who has written on geography will be found to have traversed much more than these distances (*τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲ εἷς ἂν εὑρεθείη τῶν γεωγραφησάντων πολύ τι ἡμῶν μᾶλλον ἐπεληλυθὼς τῶν λεχθέντων διαστημάτων*); those who knew the west better had less acquaintance with the east, and *vice versâ*. In spite of this claim, he felt that his qualifications as a traveller were modest—they must have seemed very modest indeed to scores of Roman officers and officials of his day—and he frankly adds that, like others, he has had to give the bulk of his information at second hand.

His explicit statements as to what he had himself seen are singularly few, and do not add anything material. Even in his own district he only mentions a stay in Kataonia (XII. ii. 3); the general statement indicates further that he had been as far as the borders at least of Armenia to the east, and the mention of the Euxine implies as a minimum a visit to Amisos, the nearest port to Amaseia, and probably to Sinope. He had studied in his youth at Nysa in Karia (XIV. i. 48) and possibly at Seleukia in Kilikia (XIV. v. 4), though the passage does not make it clear where he had attended the lectures of Xenarchos. He was at Rome as a young man in 44 B.C., when he met P. Servilius Isauricus, who died in that year (XII. vi. 2); and that must have been the time when he studied under Tyrannion (XII. iii. 6). He was there in 35 B.C. when he witnessed the execution of Selurus (VI. ii. 6). He must have gone back to Asia after this date, for in 29 B.C., the year of Augustus' triumph after Actium, we find him in the Aegean Sea on his way to Rome, touching at Gyaros (X. v. 3). The temple of Ceres at Rome was burnt in 31 B.C., and in VIII. vi. 23 he speaks of the event as recent.[1]

He had reached the western coast by the great road leading from Kelainai to Ephesos, for he had been at Hierapolis near Laodicea (XIII. iv. 14) and at Ephesos (XIV. i. 23). He had ascended the Acrocorinthus (VIII. vi. 9). He had seen Sardinia from the coast of Etruria at Populonia, his extreme limit to the west (V. ii. 6). And he had made a prolonged stay in Egypt with his friend the prefect Aelius Gallus; it was apparently on his way there or back that he had seen Kyrene from the sea (XVII. iii. 20). He refers some half dozen times to what he had seen in Egypt.

Apart, therefore, from his journeys in his youth to Nysa and Rome, we can vouch only, on direct evidence, for a single journey to Rome *viâ* Ephesos and Corinth in the year 29 B.C., and another to Egypt, where Aelius Gallus was prefect, apparently, from 27 to 24 B.C. Whether he returned from Egypt to Rome or to Amaseia, or whether he ever returned to Amaseia at all—on these points we are left to inference and conjecture only.

Into the general question of what these inferences should be I do not here enter; I am now concerned with the Troad only. There is certainly no statement in the long section devoted to this region which can be taken

[1] See Sterrett in H. L. Jones' translation of Strabo (Loeb Library), vol. i. pp. xv, xix–xxi.

as proving that he had been there. It may seem incredible that Strabo, so devoted to Homer, should never have taken the voyage from Sinope westwards through the Dardanelles, if only to stop on the way and make a pilgrimage to Troy—to the 'Village of the Ilians' if he scorned the claims of 'New' Ilium. Yet it is remarkable that at the very point where, if anywhere, we should look for the geographer's eye, in the description of the general aspect of the Plain of Troy and the surrounding hills, he is content explicitly to quote the words of Demetrios without comment or addition (XIII. i. 34). This appears to me to be of the highest significance for the question before us. And it further seems to me that at several points in the account of the Troad he makes mistakes which no eye-witness would have made, but which are explicable as errors in the interpretation of a written authority. This authority was, of course, Demetrios of Skepsis, and where topography is concerned it seems to me that he has followed blindly Demetrios, and Demetrios alone.

There are certain passages in Strabo's description where he is clearly following other sources than Demetrios—those, namely, in which he speaks of events subsequent to Demetrios' death. These are, however, almost entirely historical, and contain nothing which might not come from the ordinary sources open to any historian of his day. It must not be forgotten that Strabo looked upon himself primarily not as a geographer but as a philosophical historian. It was to history that he had given his life; the *Geography* was a work of his old age, destined rather to be an appendix to his histories than an independent *opus magnum*: *διόπερ ἡμεῖς πεποιηκότες ὑπομνήματα ἱστορικά, χρήσιμα, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνομεν, εἰς τὴν ἠθικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ἔγνωμεν προσθεῖναι καὶ τήνδε τὴν σύνταξιν* (I. i. 23). The most famous of his own additions, the history of the library of Aristotle, its fate at Skepsis, its recovery by Apellikon, its transference to Rome by Sulla, and its treatment there, contains nothing which he may not have learnt from Tyrannion, who had a hand in dealing with the MSS. and whose lectures Strabo, as he himself tells us, had attended (XIII. iii. 16, XIII. i. 54). Generally speaking it may be said that there is no single case of eye-testimony in the whole long section dealing with the Troad, save one; and that is quoted from Demetrios—his visit as a boy to Ilium, when he noted that the roofs of the houses were not even tiled (XIII. i. 27). Demetrios was, of course, a native of the country, and well acquainted with it; his eye-witness may be generally taken as granted. But one cannot

but suspect that, in passing through Strabo's hands, it has been deprived of the small vivid touches which attest personal knowledge. These Strabo probably classed among the 'small and obscure' details which were inconsistent with the dignity of history on the 'colossal' scale such as he aimed at—*κἀνταῦθα δεῖ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ ἀφανῆ παραπέμπειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐνδόξοις καὶ μεγάλοις καὶ ἐν οἷς τὸ πραγματικὸν καὶ εὐμνημόνευτον καὶ ἡδὺ διατρίβειν. καθάπερ γε καὶ ἐν τοῖς κολοσσικοῖς ἔργοις οὐ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβὲς ζητοῦμεν, κ.τ.λ.* (I. i. 23).

It is entirely in accordance with this view of history that he should open his description of the Troad by the statement that the country 'is left only in ruins and desolation,' *καίπερ ἐν ἐρειπίοις καὶ ἐν ἐρημίαι λειπομένης* (XIII. i. 1). As a matter of fact the Troad in his time contained several thriving towns. Strabo himself speaks of Lampsakos as *πόλις εὐλίμενος καὶ ἀξιόλογος, συμμένουσα καλῶς* (XIII. i. 18), and his account is amply supported by Cicero (*Verr.* (ii.) I. 24–33). And, to say nothing of Abydos, Assos, and Skepsis, the Troad had recently seen the revival under imperial auspices and in considerable splendour, of the town of Ilium; this at least could not be described in Strabo's time as 'in ruins and desolation,' though in Demetrios' days the phrase, with a considerable allowance for rhetorical exaggeration, might perhaps have been permissible. Strabo does mention this revival, but gives no description whatever of the town as it was in his day. In this, the central point of the Troad, he abides by what Demetrios had said two centuries before, and does not give a single hint that he had ever seen the place.

Still more remarkable is the way in which he treats another town which was unquestionably, in his day as in Demetrios', the most important of the district. He all but ignores Alexandria Troas. Troas was certainly in his time one of the great ports of the Roman Empire. Yet when he comes to it in its geographical order, all he has to say about it is this: 'Larisa and Kolonai used to reach to the Achaiion . . . but now Alexandria is contiguous to the Achaiion, and these towns, with most of the fortified places, have now been merged in Alexandria . . . and the site where Alexandria now stands used to be called Sigia.' Strabo's only account of Alexandria is given parenthetically in the course of his attacks on the claims of Ilium to be the Homeric Troy. In § 26 he says that Alexandria, after its foundation by Antigonos and Lysimachos, 'continued in existence and grew, and has now received a Roman colony and is one of

the notable cities,' *καὶ δὴ καὶ συνέμεινε καὶ αὔξησιν ἔσχε, νῦν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν δέδεκται καὶ ἔστι τῶν ἐλλογίμων πόλεων.* And to this we ought, in my opinion, to add the words which, as our text stands, refer to Ilium, that Lysimachos 'built a temple and an enclosing wall of some forty stades, and collected into it the old towns in the neighbourhood which had already fallen into decrepitude.' Even so there is literally not one word of description of the place, not a sign that Strabo even knew that it possessed a harbour. Yet the great artificial port, half silted up to-day, was not only the foundation of the town's prosperity, but was the symbol of a notable epoch in the world's history, which even a philosophical historian might have condescended to note. A merely commercial town might have been regarded as below the notice of an author of 'colossal' works; but even he might, with the perspective of three centuries, have observed that the foundation of Alexandria was typical of the absorption of the Greek city-state into a world-empire—that the harbour was essential to the communications of Macedonia with the east, and that the disappearance of petty towns such as Larisa, Kolonai, Neandria, Kebrene into a great city meant much more than that the old sites were left 'in ruins and desolation.'

Demetrios perhaps lived too near the days of Alexander to understand the full significance of the new epoch. And we know that he had a special grudge against Alexandria—it had for a time absorbed his own city of Skepsis, though it had been forced by Lysimachos to disgorge. To Demetrios a country town which claimed to be founded by Skamandrios son of Hector and Ascanios son of Aeneas was more important, as well as more interesting, than the mushroom city, in his days barely a century old, which had sprung at one leap into the primacy of the Troad. It is intelligible that his local patriotism should have led him to treat the upstart with silent contempt; but that Strabo should have followed him, that he should not even have given the place the benefit of such an epithet as *εὐλίμενος*, speaks little for his independence of view, and still less for the idea that he had ever visited the spot.

Strabo explains his own attitude towards Demetrios in a passage which is so remarkable that it must be set out at considerable length. It occurs in a long disquisition on the rivers of the Troad, which Strabo quotes verbatim from his authority (XIII. i. 45). The later part runs thus, inverted commas indicating the words of Demetrios: '*τοῦ δ' αὐλῶνος τοῦ*

περὶ τὸν Αἴσηπον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ῥύσεως αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἔστι Πολίχνα τειχῆρες χωρίον, εἶθ' ἡ Παλαίσκηψις, εἶτ' Ἀλαζόνιον.' τοῦτ' ἤδη πεπλασμένον πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀλιζώνων ὑπόθεσιν, περὶ ὧν εἰρήκαμεν. 'εἶτα Κάρησος ἐρήμη . . . ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ Αἰσήπου μεταξὺ Πολίχνας καὶ Παλαισκήψεως ἡ Νέα Κώμη καὶ Ἀργύρια.' καὶ τοῦτο πάλιν πλάσμα πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ὅπως σωθείη τὸ ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη. ἡ οὖν Ἀλύβη ποῦ ἢ Ἀλόπη ἢ ὅπως βούλονται παρονομάζειν; ἐχρῆν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο πλάσαι παρατριψαμένους τὸ μέτωπον καὶ μὴ χωλὸν εἶναι καὶ ἕτοιμον πρὸς ἔλεγχον ἅπαξ ἤδη ἀποτετολμηκότας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔνστασιν ἔχει τοιαύτην, τἆλλα δὲ ὑπολαμβάνομεν, ἢ τά γε πλεῖστα, δεῖν προσέχειν ὡς ἀνδρὶ ἐμπείρωι καὶ ἐντοπίωι, φροντίσαντί τε τοσοῦτον περὶ τούτων ὥστε τριάκοντα βίβλους συγγράψαι στίχων ἐξήγησιν μικρῶι πλειόνων ἑξήκοντα, τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν Τρώων.

The discussion referred to in the words *περὶ ὧν εἰρήκαμεν* occurs in XII. iii. 20–7, all of which sections are devoted to two lines in the Trojan Catalogue (*Il.* ii. 856–7):—

αὐτὰρ Ἀλιζώνων Ὀδίος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον
τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη.

Strabo takes what is no doubt the correct view of these lines—that the Halizones lived on the southern coast of the Euxine, and that Ἀλύβη is the land of the Χάλυβες (see *Troy*, 290–2). He attacks a number of alternative theories, based on alterations of the text, and all, as he assures us, quite arbitrary. The name of Ἀλύβη was the chief trouble; from various sources we learn that there were many different readings—Ἀλόπης, Ἀλόβης, Ἀλύπης, Ἀλύβων, Χαλύβων. So for Ἀλιζώνων some read Ἀλαζώνων, while Ephoros had Ἀμαζώνων. So again with the location of the district: some would place it far away beyond the Borysthenes, while others brought it much nearer Troy to the eastern end of the plain of Daskylitis, where among the hills above Myrleia there was once, it was said, a town of Alazia, and there still existed a tribe called Alizones. Demetrios, however, brought the Alazones still nearer home, to the upper valley of the Aisepos, only a few miles from Skepsis, where there was, he declared, a place called Alazonia, and silver mines. His words, as there cited by Strabo, run thus: *τὰ γὰρ περὶ τὴν Σκῆψιν τοποθετῶν, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα, πλησίον τῆς Σκήψεως καὶ τοῦ Αἰσήπου Ἐνέαν κώμην καὶ Ἀργυρίαν λέγει καὶ Ἀλαζονίαν· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ ἔστι, πρὸς ταῖς*

πηγαῖς ἂν εἴη τοῦ Αἰσήπου. Against this theory, as against all the others, Strabo urges that the name of Alybe, however it be altered, cannot be located. But against Demetrios he has a special grudge. In the earlier passage he expresses a doubt as to Demetrios' Argyria and Alazonia ; in that which is before us this has grown into a charge of deliberate fraud. Alazonia is a fictitious name ; Argyria is another fiction designed solely to account for the Homeric phrase ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη. 'And where is Alybe or Alope, or however they choose to deform the name?' he asks triumphantly. 'When once the desperate step had been taken, it would have been better to brazen it out, and complete the forgery, instead of leaving the argument lame and open to reply.'

Now we cannot but observe that Strabo, in this curious outburst, suggests against his will that Demetrios, however mistaken his theory, at all events is acting in good faith, because he does not pretend to know of any Alybe or similar name in the upper valley of the Aisepos. And, further, we remark that Strabo depends on mere assertion, and on the assertion of that particularly dangerous thing, a universal negative—that there is no such name to be found in that district as Alazonia, nor are there any silver mines. As to Alazonia, we are not in a position to check him ; he probably felt confident that, in that remote inland valley, no one ever would be likely to do so. But he goes one step too far when he asserts the same of Argyria—that is, when he denies the existence here of any 'birthplace of silver.' Here his rashness meets its fate ; for even to-day we are in a position to contradict him flatly, and to say that he is wrong and Demetrios right. For in this very spot, close to the headwaters of the Aisepos, can still be seen the shafts and tailings of ancient silver mines. In this case at least the criminal accusation is refuted, and Demetrios leaves the court without a stain on his character.

One would expect so grave a charge to be followed up in terms such as these : 'A man who in the interests of a theory is capable of deliberately falsifying facts, in a region where he had the direct personal knowledge of a native, is an authority who must be followed only with the utmost caution, and no statement of his can be accepted without confirmation, at least if it is offered in support of a theory.' But Strabo proceeds very differently : 'In spite of this objection, we consider ourselves bound to follow him, at least in most cases, as a native of the country and an expert who has devoted so much thought to the matter that he wrote thirty

volumes on a little more than sixty lines of Homer—the Catalogue of the Trojans.' This is surely a plain admission that Strabo does not take his accusation seriously. He is conscious of his complete dependence on Demetrios, he is a little ashamed of it, and feels it necessary to assert himself once at least by a plain contradiction—in terms which are so overdone that they produce the precisely opposite impression to that which he desires, even apart from the fact that they are proved to be wrong. As a matter of fact, in spite of his reservation 'at least in most cases,' *τά γε πλεῖστα*, he nowhere else ventures, within the boundaries of the Troad, even to criticise,[1] much less to contradict, Demetrios. It is especially noteworthy that he never in this chapter mentions the name of Apollodoros, the great critic of Demetrios, who had covered the same ground. When he is dealing with Greece proper, Apollodoros is an authority of the first rank, at least equal to Demetrios himself. But the moment Strabo passes into Asia, he drops Apollodoros altogether, except in the long disquisition on his blunders in XIV. Nor is any other authority quoted as a check on Demetrios. Unfortunately for history, Strabo follows him blindly even in his views about the 'ancient Ilium,' where at all events one would have supposed that he would be cautious in taking the statements of a man who was here, if anywhere, prepared to force facts in support of a theory. But even on this familiar ground he never sets up any testimony, whether of others or of his own eyes, to supplement or correct what Demetrios says.

We have, therefore, no direct evidence of any sort to shew that Strabo knew the Troad from personal observation. Demetrios appears, so far as we know, to have stated his facts correctly, whatever we may think of his theories; and so long as Strabo follows him he is not likely to go wrong, and his testimony may be taken as eye-witness at second hand. But it is, I think, possible to give positive reasons for thinking that Strabo did not know certain parts of the Troad. There are one or two portions at least of his description which contain difficulties of a sort which I can explain only by the supposition that he has, through ignorance of the country, misinterpreted Demetrios. With these we will now deal.

[1] I ought perhaps to make an exception; in § 53 he does go so far as to say that Demetrios' story of the rule of Aeneas and his family in Skepsis does not agree with the ordinary tale of Aeneas' wanderings after the fall of Troy; and that 'Homer does not seem to agree with either story.' We shall find another possible criticism in the sequel of this paper.

II.

Strabo in his systematic progress through the Troad from the extreme N.E. follows the coast till he arrives in due course by way of Ophrynion (§ 29), Rhoiteion (§ 30), and the mouth of the Scamander (§ 31) at Ilium (§ 32). (Pl. I.) He continues in § 33: *τοιούτων δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τῇι θαλάττηι τόπων ὄντων ὑπέρκειται τούτων τὸ Τρωϊκὸν πεδίον μέχρι τῆς Ἴδης ἀνῆκον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἕω μέρος. τούτου δ' ἡ μὲν παρώρειός ἐστι στενή, τῆι μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν τεταμένη μέχρι τῶν κατὰ Σκῆψιν τόπων, τῆι δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους μέχρι τῶν κατὰ Ζέλειαν Λυκίων. ταύτην δ' ὁ ποιητὴς ὑπ' Αἰνείαι τάττει καὶ τοῖς Ἀντηνορίδαις, καλεῖ δὲ Δαρδανίαν. ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτηι Κεβρηνία, πεδιὰς ἡ πλείστη, παράλληλός πως τῆι Δαρδανίαι· ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλις ἡ Κεβρήνη. ὑπονοεῖ δ' ὁ Δημήτριος μέχρι δεῦρο διατείνειν τὴν περὶ τὸ Ἴλιον χώραν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶι Ἕκτορι, ἀνήκουσαν ἀπὸ ναυστάθμου μέχρι Κεβρηνίας· τάφον τε γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου δείκνυσθαί φησιν αὐτόθι καὶ Οἰνώνης, ἣν ἱστοροῦσι γυναῖκα γεγονέναι τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὶν Ἑλένην ἁρπάσαι. λέγειν τε τὸν ποιητὴν 'Κεβριόνην νόθον υἱὸν ἀγακλῆος Πριάμοιο,' ὃν εἰκὸς εἶναι ἐπώνυμον τῆς χώρας ἢ καὶ πόλεως, ὅπερ πιθανώτερον· τὴν δὲ Κεβρηνίαν διήκειν μέχρι τῆς Σκήψεως, ὅριον δ' εἶναι τὸν Σκάμανδρον μέσον αὐτῶν ῥέοντα· ἔχθραν δ' ἀεὶ καὶ πόλεμον εἶναι τοῖς τε Κεβρηνοῖς καὶ τοῖς Σκηψίοις, ἕως Ἀντίγονος αὐτοὺς συνώικισεν εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Ἀντιγόνειαν νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· τοὺς μὲν οὖν Κεβρηνιέας συμμεῖναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν τῇι Ἀλεξανδρείαι, τοὺς δὲ Σκηψίους ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπιτρέψαντος Λυσιμάχου.*

It is necessary to quote the passage in full, as it gives a most instructive picture of the methods both of Demetrios and of Strabo. There is no doubt as to the district concerned. It is the middle basin of the Scamander, the modern plain of Bairamich; I have given a short account of it in *B.S.A.* xvii. 266. At the eastern extremity, on the north bank of the Scamander, lies the site of Skepsis, on the hill of Kurshunlu Tepe; about ten miles W.S.W., to the S. of the river, lay Kebrene, on the hill of Fugla Tepe. The river valley, here running almost due E. and W., forms a rather narrow plain, or rather pene-plain, for it is rarely level, and rises by undulations to the hill-country. On the S. side the rise is fairly rapid to the main ridge of Ida; on the N. it is much more gradual—the valley slowly merges into the rolling hills of the central Troad, which extend without any great height almost to the Propontis. It is easy to read all

this in the description ; the hill-country to the N. is what Strabo calls ἡ παρώρειος, the country of the foot-hills ; the part to the S. of the river is ἡ Κεβρηνία. The only unaccountable phrase is the statement that 'the hill-country is narrow.' This is on the face of it self-contradictory, for it is said to extend 'to the Lykians at Zeleia' close to the Propontis, and thus takes in about three-quarters of the entire width of the Troad. It looks as though Strabo had been unduly condensing a statement of Demetrios to the effect that the river valley itself is narrow, but that the district runs N.E. to the hills of Zeleia. In this form the statement is correct.

But the description is introduced by a few words of Strabo's own ; and these contain a blunder which, in my opinion, no serious topographer with a personal knowledge of the country could possibly have made. Strabo says that the Trojan Plain extends to these parts ; and this must of necessity mean that he had in mind a continuous plain running up from the sea near Troy to Kebrene and Skepsis. The way in which Dardania is here drawn in, with most unfortunate results to the whole arrangement of the work, as a mere appendage to the account of the site of Ilium, leaves no doubt on this point.

As a matter of fact the Trojan Plain is separated from the Plain of Bairamich by a barrier which forms one of the most marked natural features of the Troad. The plain is cut off at Bunarbashi by a ridge of limestone hills rising steeply for some 700 feet, and through this the river has cut a narrow gorge, bounded by precipitous cliffs, and quite impassable by any road. It is possible to pass from the Plain of Troy to the Plain of Bairamich—on the western side only by a hill track, with two laborious ascents and descents ; on the eastern side, where runs the road from Chanak to Ezine, by slopes so steep as to involve for modern wheeled traffic a long series of zigzags. When Strabo says that the Trojan Plain stretches up to Ida in the neighbourhood of Kebrene and Skepsis, he entirely ignores the existence of this barrier ; and I feel sure that no one who has ever seen, much less crossed, it could possibly ignore it.

If Strabo did not know the country, it was easy enough for him to fall into this particular error. Demetrios divides the plain of Bairamich between the Dardanoi on the north and the Troes on the south in a very curious way. The two tribes are supposed to have faced one another in two long strips, divided only by a river which is anywhere fordable except in spring floods, and does not form a natural boundary at all. When we

are told that the whole of the long southern strip was ruled by Hector from Troy, many miles away to the north, it might seem to be an almost inevitable deduction that his realm was geographically continuous, and that the Trojan Plain stretched up, as Strabo says, from Troy to Kebrene and beyond. But anyone who is aware of the hill barrier between the two districts must see at once that, if there were to be two tribal domains, the only natural division is to give the Plain of Troy to Hector and his Troes, the middle basin above the Bunarbashi gorge to Aineias and his Dardanoi; and this, I have no doubt, is what is meant by Dardania in Homer (*Troy*, 177).

What, then, were the reasons which induced Demetrios to slice this unit longitudinally, and to assign the southern part to a ruler far away in the north? The question can be answered with confidence.

We learn from another passage that Demetrios' native Skepsis, where he places the palace (*βασίλειον*) of Aeneas, was, according to the local legend, established as a city after the fall of Troy by Skamandrios son of Hector, and Askanios son of Aeneas, the former Trojan, the latter Dardanian; and that the descendants of these two royal houses were still recognised in historical times, and enjoyed the honorary title of kings (*καὶ δύο γένη ταῦτα βασιλεῦσαι πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇι Σκήψει λέγεται· μετὰ ταῦτα δ' εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν μετέστησαν, εἶτα Μιλήσιοι συνεπολιτεύθησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ δημοκρατικῶς ὤικουν· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐκαλοῦντο Βασιλεῖς, ἔχοντές τινας τιμάς*, § 52). What was the cause of this *συνοικισμός* of Troes and Dardanoi? The reply of Demetrios is that the Troes were already close at hand to join in the new foundation; that Kebrenia belonged to them. For positive evidence he pointed to two facts—that Kebrenia contained the tomb of Paris and of his wife Oenone; and that Kebriones was the eponymos of the town of Kebrene. Paris and Kebriones were both sons of Priam, and therefore Trojans, not Dardanians. By the use of these proofs he refuted the obvious suggestion that the *συνοικισμός* was due to the fugitives from Troy after its fall. Paris and Kebriones both fell in the Trojan War, and therefore the Troes must have been there before the war. If it is objected to his theory that the longitudinal division of the plain is awkward and unnatural, he replies at once that it is at all events historical; for a long time Skepsis had owned the northern half of the plain, Kebrene the southern; and this division, however inconvenient for the citizens, had subsisted till the foundation of Antigoneia (Alexandria)

when it was only put an end to by force. On his evidence, then, the position of Demetrios is unassailable; and though we do not count a legendary tomb as historical evidence, we must admit that Demetrios has plainly stated the facts which were sufficient to convince him; while Strabo has transmitted them to us with a fidelity which at once enables us to reconstruct the argument and so to understand a serious error.

This error is to me abundant proof that Strabo had never seen the gorge of Bunarbashi; and if he had never seen that, he can have had no personal knowledge of any part of the interior of the Troad at all. He certainly can never have been in the central plain. He could not by any route have visited Skepsis without assuring himself that this plain is entirely surrounded by hills, and has no connection with the Plain of Troy.

This same ignorance leads to the curious order in which he deals with this district. He evidently thought that Kebrene was quite near Troy because it lay in "the Trojan Plain." Hence he treats it as a mere appendage to Troy, a short excursion while he is passing from Rhoiteion and the mouth of the Scamander to Ilium itself. It is actually some 25 miles away, in a wholly separate district, as we have seen. But Skepsis, lying at about the same distance from Ilium, and only 10 miles from Kebrene, in the same district, is not reached till § 52, after the whole coast from Ilium to the mouth of the Kaikos has been traversed in order, with the single, and awkward, interpolation of a discussion, taken from Demetrios, of the river systems of the central Troad (§ 43–5) in which the sites of Palaiskepsis and Skepsis are incidentally treated. It is clear that Strabo had no clear idea of the central Troad at all; he can have had no map, and whenever he has to touch upon it it is with an uncertain hand and in disconnected episodes which indicate that he had no clear idea of its geographical relations either internally or with the coast. These episodes may be summed up as follows. In § 33, the section before us, he wrongly takes the Trojan Plain up to Kebrene, and includes Kebrene with Troy, while excluding its near neighbour Skepsis. Then he returns at once to Ilium, and discusses at length the question of Homer's Troy (§§ 33–42). Next, without any hint of connexion, he jumps to Mount Ida and its river system, quoting Demetrios verbally for three whole sections (§§ 43–5). He is here covering the whole central Troad, including the districts of Skepsis, Kebrene, and the upper waters of the Aisepos—the 'Dale of the Aisepos' now known as Avunia. The site of Palaiskepsis is discussed, but

Skepsis is named only to fix the position of Kotylos, the hydrographic centre of the Troad. He then makes a sudden jump back to the Plain of Troy, going on with his round of the coast from Sigeion (§ 46) to Lekton (§ 50). Here he incidentally speaks of the valley of the Satnioeis, and says that this district is continuous with Dardania and the country of Skepsis, evidently not appreciating the fact that it is divided from them by Kebrenia. § 51 is concerned with the coast from Lekton to the Elaitic Gulf; the difficulties connected with this we shall deal with later. In § 52 he makes another excursion inland, beginning 'Palaiskepsis is above Kebrene in the highest region of Ida near Polichna,' apparently forgetting that he has discussed the site of Palaiskepsis already. It is here treated as the old mother-town of Skepsis, and an impossible distance between the two—60 stades—is given. This, which has been the cause of endless difficulties and confusion, is probably due, as I have elsewhere argued, to the omission of a numeral in the text (*B.S.A.* xvii. 276; xxi. 16); at all events that is the supposition most favourable to Strabo. In any case, the site of Skepsis can be made out from Strabo only by a tedious piecing together of evidence from three wholly disconnected passages; and this evidence is so obscure that the question had to remain for decision till the discovery of an inscription on the Kurshunlu Tepe finally settled it.

The following sections, 53–55, are devoted to a historical account of Skepsis, but no further geographical indications are given. Then comes § 56, opening with the enigmatical words *μετὰ δὲ Σκῆψιν Ἄνδειρα καὶ Πιονίαι καὶ ἡ Γαργαρίς*. These are still obscure (*B.S.A.* xxi. 20–22). Whatever they mean, by them we return to the southern coast, and take up again in more detail various places which were only mentioned in the first summary; and this continues to the end of the chapter on the Troad.

The impression produced on me by this confusion in arrangement is that Strabo was throughout following Demetrios implicitly so far as the matter is concerned, but that Demetrios had dealt with his own district in various excursuses, not pieced systematically into a continuous account of the Troad. Strabo had to combine them into his *περιήγησις*, but never gathered from them any distinct view of the central Troad, and therefore had to wedge in his quotations from Demetrios solely by the light of nature.

To the question, therefore, as to whether Strabo had himself travelled in the Troad we must certainly, so far as the interior is concerned, answer

'No.' As to the coast, there is only the negative fact that nothing which he says or implies shews that he was personally acquainted with it. And in particular it may be added that, in his general description of the site of Ilium, where, if anywhere, one would expect him to have been, he is explicitly dependent upon Demetrios alone (§ 34).

III.

In another passage in his account of the Troad Strabo has made a far more conspicuous and serious blunder, which has been always recognised and often discussed. But, to the best of my knowledge, no explanation of any sort has yet been given of the cause which can have led him into so curious an error. He places the promontory of Kanai, at the mouth of the Kaikos Valley, south of the Elaitic Gulf, whereas there is no question that it really lay north of it (Pl. I.). The error is distinctly recorded in three separate passages, so that there can be no doubt that Strabo had a wrong picture in his mind—there is no room for any suggestion of errors or corruption in the text. And, strangely enough, in another passage he rightly describes the geographical position of the Gulf. In the last passage he quotes his authority, Artemidoros. In the three others he does not. I propose to shew that in the three passages he is following Demetrios, and that it is possible to suggest, though not to prove, the nature of his misunderstanding of his authority. In any case it is obvious that he can have had no personal knowledge of the locality. It is possible that Demetrios himself may have made the error; but that does not seem to me likely in a district not so very far from Skepsis, and, while holding this possibility in mind, I prefer to proceed on the alternative hypothesis, that Demetrios knew what he was talking about, but expressed himself in a way which misled Strabo. That is at least consonant with what we already have learnt about Demetrios.

The three passages in the chapter on the Troad (XIII. i.) must be set out in full here for further reference. They are as follows:—

A. § 2. *ἀπὸ Λεκτοῦ δὲ μέχρι Καΐκου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν Κανῶν λεγομένων ἔστι τὰ περὶ Ἄσσον καὶ Ἀδραμύττιον καὶ Ἀταρνέα καὶ Πιτάνην καὶ τὸν Ἐλαϊτικὸν κόλπον· οἷς πᾶσιν ἀντιπαρήκει ἡ τῶν Λεσβίων νῆσος· εἶθ' ἑξῆς τὰ περὶ Κύμην μέχρι Ἕρμου καὶ Φωκαίας ἥπερ ἀρχὴ μὲν τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐστὶ πέρας δὲ τῆς Αἰολίδος. τοιούτων δὲ τῶν τόπων ὄντων ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς*

ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Αἴσηπον τόπων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν νῦν Κυζικηνὴν χώραν ὑπαγορεύει μάλιστα (suggests at least) *τοὺς Τρῶας ἄρξαι μέχρι τοῦ Καΐκου ποταμοῦ διειρημένους κατὰ δυναστείας εἰς ὀκτὼ μερίδας ἢ καὶ ἐννέα· τὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπικούρων πλῆθος ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις διαριθμεῖται.*

B. § 51. *κεῖται δὲ τὰ Γάργαρα ἐπ' ἄκρας ποιούσης τὸν ἰδίως Ἀδραμυττηνὸν καλούμενον κόλπον. λέγεται γὰρ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἀπὸ Λεκτοῦ μέχρι Κανῶν παραλία τῶι αὐτῶι τούτωι ὀνόματι, ἐν ὧι καὶ ὁ Ἐλαϊτικὸς περιλαμβάνεται.*

C. § 68. *κύκλωι δὲ περὶ τὸ ὄρος* (*i.e.* the mountain mass which forms the promontory of Kanai) *πρὸς νότον μὲν καὶ δύσιν ἡ θάλαττα, πρὸς ἕω δὲ τὸ Καΐκου πεδίον ὑπόκειται, πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ ἡ Ἐλαῖτις.*

The sites of Kanai and Elaia are well known and undisputed. Kanai is a large mass of eruptive rock which lies in the axis of the Kaikos valley, where it reaches the sea. The site of Elaia, the port of Pergamon, is marked by the remains of ancient moles and other ruins, now cut off from the sea by lagoons and marshes formed by the detritus of the river, close to which it stood. It is also on the shore of a deep and comparatively narrow gulf, which can plainly be none other than the Gulf of Elaia, *ὁ Ἐλαϊτικὸς κόλπος*. Yet the passages *A* and *B* say plainly that if the Gulf of Adramyttion is taken as bounded by the promontory of Kanai, it includes the Gulf of Elaia, which is a quite false statement. And *C* goes on to add explicitly that *ἡ Ἐλαῖτις*, the territory of Elaia, is to the north of Kanai, while it is in fact to the south-east. It must also be added that the mistake is comprised in a very few words—in *A* the words *καὶ τὸν Ἐλαϊτικὸν κόλπον*; in *B* *ἐν ὧι καὶ ὁ Ἐλαϊτικὸς περιλαμβάνεται*; in *C* the words *πρὸς ἄρκτον*. It might be supposed that such a mistake would bring with it a continual confusion in the description of the whole district. But it is not so. Except for these few words the entire description is intelligible and clear, and enables us to identify all the sites named, with the possible exception of Atarneus: for this a highly probable site has been found, but there is hardly sufficient evidence to enable us to say that the site is indisputable.

It is at Elaia that Strabo finishes his description of the Troad; he then turns to Lesbos. But he approaches the same point in another passage from the South; and here we have a good account of the Elaitic Gulf (XIII. iii. 5). It runs thus—I give it in translation and somewhat abridged—'From Larisa (Phrikonis) to Kyme across the Hermos is 70

stades; to Myrina 40 more, and the same distance to Grynion and thence to Elaia. According to Artemidoros, after Kyme comes Adai, and then at a distance of 40 stades a promontory called Hydra, which, with the opposite promontory of Harmatus, forms the Elaitic Gulf. The width of the mouth is about 80 stades. As we proceed up the gulf (*ἐγκολπίζοντι*) we come at 60 stades to Myrina, then the "Achaians' Harbour," then Grynion 40 stades further on; thence 70 stades to Elaia, with a harbour and the dockyards of the Attalid kings. The next district has already been described, with Pitane, Atarneus and the rest.' There is a small discrepancy between the measurements in the two accounts; the first seems to imply that the distance from Grynion to Elaia is the same as from Myrina to Grynion, which makes it 40 stades, while Artemidoros gives it as 70. The distance from Chifut-kalessi to the site of Elaia is, in fact, about 40 stades in a straight line, but the longer figure may represent the length of the road.[1] In any case, both Artemidoros and the other unnamed authority—Demetrios, as I do not doubt—are in substantial agreement with one another and with the geographical facts as they can still be ascertained.

The natural conclusion from all this is, I submit, that Strabo was following good and accurate authorities; and that where he goes wrong it is from a mistaken view of what they wrote, a view which he was not in a position to check in any way either by a map or by a personal knowledge of the country. It remains to enquire if there is any explanation by which we can account for so unfortunate an error.

For this purpose we must enquire into the general scheme under which the Troad is treated in Strabo, and particularly must begin with the curious fact that the lower part of the Kaikos valley is regarded as part of the Troad, while the upper part, including Pergamon, is dealt with quite separately in another section (XIII. iv.), after the Aeolic towns about the Hermos. Such an arrangement is practically one of extreme inconvenience for the geographer who follows Strabo. Fortunately, however, Strabo gives the ground for his division, and it is instructive as to his attitude.

After mentioning various theories as to the proper geographical limits of the Troad (XIII. i. 4), of which that of Charon of Lampsakos seems to have carried the name further southwards than the rest, though only as far

[1] Ramsay (*J.H.S.* xii. 277) gives the distances along the Roman road as Myrina to Grynion 5 miles, Grynion to Elaia 7. These represent about 40 and 60 stades respectively.

as Adramyttion, he proceeds to say that the centre of the topography of the Troad is to be found in the range of Ida. He explains the western and northern extensions of this, and then says (XIII. i. 6):—

D. κάμψαντι δὲ τὸ Λεκτὸν ἀναχεῖται κόλπος μέγας, ὃν ἡ Ἴδη ποιεῖ πρὸς τὸν ἤπειρον ἀποχωροῦσα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεκτοῦ, καὶ αἱ Κάναι, τὸ ἐκ θατέρου μέρους ἀντικείμενον ἀκρωτήριον τῶι Λεκτῶι· καλοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν Ἰδαῖον κόλπον, οἱ δ' Ἀδραμυττηνόν. ἐν τούτωι δὲ αἱ τῶν Αἰολέων πόλεις μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ἕρμου, καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν (*i.e.* in the passage marked *A* above).

This is followed by a parenthesis, certainly Strabo's own, in which he explains that when he talks of gulfs along this coast, it must be understood that all the promontories along this coast lie on a single meridian which he has discussed elsewhere—*i.e.* the 'meridian of Eratosthenes,' which he has explained in II. v. 7, and often recurs to (see I. iv. 2, II. x. 1, iv. 3, XIV. ii. 14).

In the next section he gives his authority—*ἐκ δὴ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένων εἰκάζουσιν οἱ φροντίσαντες περὶ τούτων πλέον τι, πᾶσαν τὴν παραλίαν ταύτην ὑπὸ τοῖς Τρωσὶ γεγονέναι.* It is obvious that 'those who have devoted special thought to the question' must include Demetrios, and need not include anyone else; the plural is used just as in a passage already quoted (see p. 29), where he uses the plural (*βούλονται—παρατριψαμένους—ἀποτετολμηκότας*) in attacking a theory which was held, so far as we know, by Demetrios alone. We do not hear of Demetrios having founded any school—he was independent alike of Aristarchos and Krates, the two leaders of his day; and the plural means no more than the familiar circumlocution *οἱ περί* to denote an individual. Strabo, therefore, tells us that, according to Demetrios, not only the Gulf of Adramyttion, but, 'within this,' the whole of the Aeolian cities, 'as far as the mouth of the Hermos,' were under the Trojans in the days of the Trojan War.

Particular attention must be called to the phrase 'up to the Hermos.' We have met it already in *A*, and we find it again, in an even more emphatic form in § 8, *οὕτω δὴ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὴν Αἰολίδα καὶ τὴν Τροίαν εἰς ἓν συντιθέντος, καὶ τῶν Αἰολέων τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἕρμοῦ πᾶσαν μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Κύζικον παραλίας κατασχόντων καὶ πόλεις κτισάντων, οὐδ' ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀτόπως περιοδεύσαιμεν, εἰς ταὐτὸ συντιθέντες τήν τε Αἰολίδα νῦν ἰδίως λεγομένην τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἕρμου μέχρι Λεκτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐφεξῆς μέχρι τοῦ Αἰσήπου.*

Here we have a statement, as clear and explicit as any statement can be, that according to Homer Troy-land is coextensive with Aeolis, and

that consequently the whole country from the Hermos to the mouth of the Aisepos will be treated as a single unit. But this promise, as we have seen, is not fulfilled in the sequel. The country is actually treated as a unit not as far as the Hermos but only up to the Kaikos, where the description of the Troad ends. The Aeolic towns in the Hermos valley are not included in the *περίοδος*, as we are told they will be, but are treated in a separate section and in the reverse order, so that, as we have seen, Elaia is approached from the south and not from the north. In other words, we have two different views stated in § 2 (*A*), *μέχρι τοῦ Καΐκου ποταμοῦ*, and § 6 (*D*), *μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ἕρμου*. The difference between the two involves the inclusion or exclusion of the Elaitic Gulf from the survey; and in the recognition of this we have at least gone some way to perceiving the possibility of Strabo's error.

We have heard from Strabo that Demetrios wrote thirty volumes on the Trojan Catalogue. This must have been the work of a lifetime, and it is highly probable that in the course of it his views, on theoretical points at least, may have altered. The conclusion to which I have come is that both the views under consideration were held by Demetrios at different times, and that Strabo in presenting them in the form of an abstract has, through ignorance of the country, confused them, and not seen their essential incompatibility.

We will take the first—the view that the 'Troy-land' of Homer reached only as far as the Kaikos—and see how it came about that this limit is supported by Demetrios.

He regards *Τροία* in the sense of 'Troy-land'—he follows Homer in using the name alike for the city and the country—in a purely political sense; it is the kingdom of Priam, regarded as an empire made up of a combination of subordinate states, or rather reigning families, *δυνάστειαι*. These he enumerates according to the Trojan Catalogue—the Troes under Hector, the Dardanians under Aeneas, the Lykian Troes under Pandaros, the Troes near Abydos under Asios, the Troes under the two sons of Merops in Perkote, making five *δυνάστειαι*. He adds three dynasties in the southern Troad—the Kilikes of Thebe under Eetion, the Kilikes of Lyrnessos under the husband of Briseis, and the Leleges of Pedasos. Thus he gets eight in all. So far we can follow him without hesitation, and I have supported this general view in *Troy* (ch. v.).

The names of the Kilikes and Leleges, however, do not occur in the

Catalogue. Demetrios has supplied them from other sources—that is, from the list of towns sacked and destroyed by the Greeks in the course of the Trojan war. He argues that these attacks imply that the towns belonged to Priam's kingdom; and supports this conclusion in § 7 by recounting the intermarriages between Leleges and Kilikes on the one hand and Troes on the other—a presumptive proof of close tribal relationship.

The argument that these tribes are not mentioned in the Catalogue he deals with in another place—XIII. iii.—where he is discussing the Pelasgoi, who are found in the Catalogue, led by Hippothoos from Larisa. His answer to the difficulty is that the Kilikes and Leleges are not mentioned in the Catalogue because, as Homer himself tells us, they had been completely destroyed. This seems to me very inadequate, and my own view is that they are comprised in the Catalogue under the general name of the Pelasgoi, and that the Larisa from which they came is that which lay on the western coast of the Troad some way north of Lekton. To Demetrios' view we shall come in a moment. We shall only see its significance after considering an intermediate step.

Demetrios is led to push a step further the argument that tribes raided on the Trojan frontier are to be regarded as part of the kingdom of Priam; and he quotes from the *Odyssey* the lines (xi. 519–522) referring to Neoptolemos:—

> *ἀλλ' οἷον τὸν Τηλεφίδην κατενήρατο χαλκῷι*
> *ἥρω' Εὐρύπυλον· πολλοὶ δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι*
> *Κήτειοι κτείνοντο γυναίων εἵνεκα δώρων.*

If a raid against the Kilikes by Achilles is a proof that they were subjects of Priam, a raid against the Keteioi by the son of Achilles must be taken to shew the same. But legend said that Telephos and Eurypylos had their home in Teuthrania, in the lower Kaikos valley. This, then, should belong to the Troad.

The argument is obviously weak enough; but Demetrios is conscientious, and had a real sense of geography, and he supports it in an ingenious manner. In *Il.* xxiv. 544 Achilles gives as one of the boundaries of Priam's realm,

> *ὅσσον Λέσβος ἄνω, Μάκαρος ἕδος, ἔντος ἐέργει.*

This, according to Demetrios, means the whole coast which is faced by

Lesbos out at sea (*ἄνω*). And that coast extends as far as the promontory of Kanai. That is why he insists on the unity of the Gulf of Adramyttion in the widest sense and makes Kanai its southern boundary. This gives him a geographical unit on which he can base his otherwise shaky theory that the lower Kaikos valley was included in the realm of Priam.

How shaky his theory was did not escape the notice of Strabo. After setting out in § 69 the legendary history of Teuthrania, he continues: *ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μέμνηται μόνον τῆς ἱστορίας ταύτης* (quoting the three lines from the *Odyssey*) *αἴνιγμα τιθεὶς ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἢ λέγων τι σαφές. οὔτε γὰρ τοὺς Κητείους ἴσμεν οὕστινας δέξασθαι δεῖ, οὔτε τὸ 'γυναίων εἵνεκα δώρων.' ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ γραμματικοὶ μυθάρια παραβάλλοντες εὑρεσιλογοῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ λύουσι τὰ ζητούμενα.*

These words are so wholly destructive of the argument of Demetrios that I feel sure they are a protest of Strabo's own; Demetrios himself can hardly escape inclusion among the *γραμματικοί*. Yet Strabo is so wholly dependent on Demetrios that after relieving his mind he goes on quite undisturbed in the next section (70): *ἐάσθω δὴ ταῦτα, ἐκεῖνο δ' ὅπερ ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἐν φανερῷ λαβόντες λέγωμεν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κάϊκον τόποις φαίνεται βεβασιλευκὼς καθ' Ὅμηρον ὁ Εὐρύπυλος, ὥστ' ἴσως καὶ τῶν Κιλίκων τι μέρος ἦν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐ δύο δυναστεῖαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς ὑπῆρξαν ἐν αὐτοῖς*—as though he had not just brushed aside the whole of the evidence on which such a statement could be made. That the Keteioi, whoever they were, had a tribal connexion with the Kilikes there is not an atom of evidence in Homer or elsewhere.

Demetrios, however, appears to have been quite satisfied with his extension of the empire of Priam to Kanai and Teuthrania; he had now to face the question of the Pelasgoi under Hippothoos from Larisa. He decides that this Larisa was not the obvious one in the Troad, but the Aeolian Larisa Phrikonis in the Hermos valley. Into the merits of this question, which I have discussed at some length in *Troy* (208 ff.), we need not here go. We are only trying to trace what, on this assumption, must have been in the mind of Demetrios.

When he had got to Kanai, he was not far from Larisa Phrikonis; he was only separated by the Elaitic Gulf, about 80 stades in width, from the territory of Myrina; and Myrina was only about 100 more from Larisa Phrikonis. Could he not include Larisa also in the empire of Priam? The position of the Pelasgoi in the Trojan Catalogue, between undoubted

Troes and Thracians, leaves it doubtful if they are to be classed as subjects or allies.

In his choice between these two alternatives he found no guidance from Homer. There is no sign of any foray so far afield, nor any evidence of close relationship between Troes and Pelasgoi. But it was possible to find a sort of unit which would bring them together. In Hellenic days all this coast district was known by a single name, that of Aeolis. It might be urged that the Aeolians, coming, in his view, from the north (§ 3), had entered into possession of the kingdom of Priam as a whole, and that Troas and Aeolis were synonymous terms. In thus arguing he would be taking precisely the same course as we have found him doing already, when he assumes that the inconvenient division of Kebrenian and Skepsian territory was the relic of an ancient division between Troes and Dardanoi. He is taking the political boundaries of his own day as geographical facts.

That he did at one time at least maintain this view seems to me clear from the passages already quoted from Strabo, who is plainly unaware that in this form it is inconsistent with with the view he actually supports. It is also clear that in maintaining it Demetrios must have argued that the Elaitic Gulf was essentially a part of the Gulf of Adramyttion. It is not unlikely that passage *D* is a verbatim quotation from him. The words ἐν τούτωι there seem to me to be just the sort of phrase which he would have used, and which would mislead Strabo. Grammatically of course they should mean 'in the Gulf of Adramyttion are the Aeolic towns up to the mouth of the Hermos'; but that would be so plain a misstatement that we must take them in a vague sense, 'in this district of which we are speaking.' It is for this reason that I have not included *D* among the passages which convict Strabo of error. It is, in fact, just the sort of loose phraseology which would lead him into error. He took it in the strict sense, and came, not unnaturally if he had no means of checking his authority, to the conclusion that the Elaitic Gulf was north of Kanai. Hence the more explicit statement in *A* and *B*: 'the Elaitic Gulf is included in the Gulf of Adramyttion, which is bounded at the south by Kanai.' The further development in *C*, 'the territory of Elaia is north of Kanai,' is a logical deduction of Strabo's own.

That is the best explanation of Strabo's blunder which I can give; I think it is worth serious consideration. But as another has been offered professing to acquit Strabo of any blunder at all, it seems necessary to

mention it, though it can, in my opinion, be dismissed in very brief compass.

The promontory of Kanai is formed, as we have seen, by a considerable mountain mass lying directly in the main line of the Kaikos as it runs past Pergamon in a generally W.S.W. direction. The valley, as it nears Kanai, divides into two branches. One turns N.W., and skirts the N.E. side of the mountain. This branch valley is practically level, and marshy in places, but no river runs through it; indeed, a mountain torrent crosses it from N. to S., falling into the Gulf of Elaia. The southern branch is that in which the bed of the Kaikos lies on its way to the Gulf of Elaia. This branch, though generally level, is crossed near the sea by a low ridge, forming a narrow neck by which Kanai is connected with the Elaia and the hills to the S.E. Through this neck the river passes by a small ravine.

This state of things has suggested to Dörpfeld the hypothesis that, at the time of Strabo, the former branch, that running N.W., was an arm of the sea, reaching nearly to Elaia, as shewn roughly by the dotted line in the sketch-map (Pl. I.): and this, in his opinion, was what Strabo was speaking of when he says that the Gulf of Elaia lay to the N. of Kanai. He believes that since Strabo's time the river has changed its bed, and forced its way through the ridge, and at the same time filled up to its present level the old 'Elaitic Gulf.'

This would, of course, explain the repeated statements that the Elaitic Gulf is included in the Gulf of Adramyttion as bounded on the S. by Kanai; but it is met at once by objections so formidable that it appears to me unworthy of serious discussion. To begin with, so eminent an authority as Dr. Philippson, who knows the ground intimately, says in the plainest language that it is quite inconsistent with geological facts. That the N.W. arm may at one time have contained the main channel of the Kaikos, and have been filled up by its alluvium, is no doubt probable enough. But the erosion gap by which the river passes to the sea is, he says, certainly prehistoric, and cannot have been formed since Strabo's days. It is, moreover, spanned by a bridge which, as large remains shew, was of Roman work: the channel existed, therefore, in Roman days; though it is not capable of proof that the bridge is as old as Strabo, it cannot be very much later, as Dörpfeld's hypothesis would require.

But even granting the geological possibility of Dörpfeld's view, it does not in the end save Strabo's credit. It falsifies his description of the mountain of Kanai, which is quite true as things now are—Kanai is bounded on the S. and W. by the sea, and on the E. by the plain of the Kaikos valley. As Dörpfeld would have it, it is bounded on three—almost on all—sides by the sea; it is, in fact, a peninsula cut off from the mainland except for a narrow isthmus, and in no sense bounded by the plain of the Kaikos valley on the E.

And it remains as untrue as ever that the territory of Elaia lies to the north of it. Dörpfeld does not dispute the position of Elaia, which is indeed beyond controversy; but he puts ἡ Ἐλαῖτις to the north of the territories of Atarneus and Teuthrania—and indeed of Pitane, for his theory requires that Pitane should not stand at the modern Chandarli, where it is marked on the map—a site which agrees in the minutest details with Strabo's description; Dörpfeld is obliged to move it to some purely conjectural place between Atarneus and Teuthrania—so that, if he understands ἡ Ἐλαῖτις to mean the territory of Elaia, he must assume that the town is separated from its own territory by a complete belt of independent towns. It is, however, not clear that he is prepared to face this; he argues that the hill-sides at the back of Atarneus are more important for their olive-groves than the hills behind Elaia. Is it possible, therefore, that he means us to suppose that ἡ Ἐλαῖτις means 'the olive-land' and has nothing to do with the town of Elaia? Whichever alternative he chooses, one can only wish him joy of it.

And there remains a more serious consideration which, to all appearance, Dörpfeld had completely forgotten when he first launched his theory. We have seen that, when approaching the district from the south, Strabo describes, after Artemidoros, the Elaitic Gulf with details only applicable to the gulf so marked on our maps. Dörpfeld has, therefore, to suppose that Strabo recognised two neighbouring gulfs equally by the name of Elaitic, though they are quite distinct. The position of 'the Elaitic Gulf,' with regard to the Gulf of Adramyttion, is a point on which he lays repeated stress; yet he never explains the difference between the synonymous two. This is, at least, as serious an imputation on his character as geographer as the mistake which is commonly assumed; indeed, I am not sure that it is not much more serious. For it must have been made, and made repeatedly, with full knowledge that he was misleading his readers in an important

point, which could have been explained in a couple of lines. As it is, we need accuse him of nothing worse than a misunderstanding of his authority, for which I have at least suggested a pardonable ground of misapprehension. And there we may leave Dörpfeld and his theory of the Elaitic Gulf.[1]

There is, as the text of Strabo stands, another gross error, when he says that the River Euenos, from which the aqueduct to Adramyttion is built, enters the sea near Pitane (§ 67 *εἶτα Πιτάνη πόλις Αἰολική, δύο ἔχουσα λιμένας, καὶ ὁ παραρρέων αὐτὴν ποταμὸς Εὔηνος, ἐξ οὗ τὸ ὑδραγωγεῖον πεποίηται τοῖς Ἀδραμυττηνοῖς*). The idea that any aqueduct would ever be carried to Adramyttion from any river near Pitane is quite absurd. But it is possible to acquit Strabo of such a blunder by assuming that there has been an interpolation or similar dislocation of the text; the offending words, from *καὶ ὁ παραρρέων* to the end, would be quite in place a few lines further back, as I have shewn in *J.H.S.* xxxvii. 25. It may be added that Dörpfeld attempts at least to mitigate the error by a new theory as to the position of Lyrnessos (*Hermes*, 46, 456). This, however, is based on words in the text of Strabo which are patently an interpolation, as I have shewn in the same article (p. 24); and even if it were not so, I cannot see that, by bringing the river which flows past Pitane a few miles nearer Adramyttion he in any way diminishes the absurdity of saying that the water supply was derived from hills which are waterless in summer while in the immediate neighbourhood of the town there is a river fed from the perennial springs of the Ida range.

WALTER LEAF.

[1] Dörpfeld's original statement of his theory will be found in *Ath. Mitt.* 35, 395 ff. Philippson replied to it in *Hermes* 46 (1911), 254 ff.; and Dörpfeld's rejoinder will be found at pp. 444 ff. of the same volume.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF STRABO, V. iii.

Dr. Leaf's article in *J.H.S.* xxxvii. 1917, 19–30, shows the nature of some of the vicissitudes through which the text of Strabo has passed in transmission, and illustrates the possibility of restoring it through the elimination of extraneous *marginalia*. My own studies in this author's account of Latium have brought to my attention two instructive instances of the other class of *marginalia* to which Dr. Leaf refers on p. 19 of his article, namely, those due to the author himself, who in revising his manuscript appended, we must suppose, the passages in question, which subsequently became inserted in the text at a wrong point.

The first of these two instances occurs in V. iii. 8, in the enthusiastic description of Rome; and failure to realise the transposition which has taken place has impeded full appreciation of the effectiveness of this one of the few rhetorical climaxes in our author's description of Italy.[1] The existence of the transposition was, however, noted, and properly explained, some years ago, by P. Meyer.[2] The traditional text runs as follows (the arrows are mine):—

(A general description of the Campus Martius, ending) δυσαπάλλακτον παρέχουσι τὴν θέαν. πλησίον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ πεδίου τούτου καὶ ἄλλο πεδίον καὶ στοαὶ κύκλῳ παμπληθεῖς καὶ ἄλση καὶ θέατρα τρία καὶ ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ ναοὶ πολυτελεῖς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀλλήλοις, ὡς πάρεργον ἂν δόξαιεν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. †διόπερ ἱεροπρεπέστατον νομίσαντες τοῦτον τὸν τόπον καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων μνήματα ἐνταῦθα κατεσκεύασαν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. ἀξιολογώτατον δὲ τὸ Μαυσώλειον καλούμενον, . . . ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ ὁ τῆς καύστρας αὐτοῦ (*i.e.* of Augustus) περίβολος, καὶ οὗτος λίθου λευκοῦ, κύκλῳ μὲν περικείμενον ἔχων σιδηροῦν περίφραγμα, ἐντὸς δ' αἰγείροις κατάφυτος.† πάλιν δ' εἴ τις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρελθὼν τὴν ἀρχαίαν . . . ἴδοι . . ., ῥᾳδίως ἐκλάθοιτ' ἂν τῶν ἔξωθεν.

[1] *E.g.* Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, I. iii. 499 f., 619.
[2] *Straboniana*, ii. 20.

Here it is clear that, in the traditional text, there is first the description of the Campus Martius, then that of the Circus Flaminius; then a return to the Campus Martius, with the rather long description of the Mausoleum of Augustus and its adjuncts; after which we are taken to the older part of Rome. The remedy is simple: to transfer the words between the daggers, namely *διόπερ . . . κατάφυτος*, to the position between *τὴν θέαν* and *πλησίον*. This arrangement not only produces topographical continuity, but at the same time gives *διόπερ* its proper antecedent, and makes far more effective the rhetorical climax, *ὡς πάρεργον ἂν δόξαιεν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν . . . πάλιν δ' εἴ τις . . . ἴδοι . . ., ῥᾳδίως ἐκλάθοιτ' ἂν τῶν ἔξωθεν*, the two parts of which in the vulgate are too far separated. We must therefore print the passage as follows: *καὶ γὰρ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς καὶ οἱ τούτου παῖδες καὶ οἱ φίλοι καὶ γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ πᾶσαν ὑπερεβάλλοντο σπουδὴν καὶ δαπάνην εἰς τὰς κατασκευάς· τούτων δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα ὁ Μάρτιος ἔχει κάμπος, πρὸς τῇ φύσει προσλαβὼν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς προνοίας κόσμον. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πεδίου θαυμαστὸν ἅμα καὶ τὰς ἁρματοδρομίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἱππασίαν ἀκώλυτον παρέχον τῷ τοσούτῳ πλήθει τῶν σφαίρᾳ καὶ κρίκῳ καὶ παλαίστρᾳ γυμναζομένων· καὶ τὰ περικείμενα ἔργα καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ποάζον δι' ἔτους καὶ τῶν λόφων στεφάναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ ῥείθρου σκηνογραφικὴν ὄψιν ἐπιδεικνύμεναι δυσαπάλλακτον παρέχουσι τὴν θέαν. διόπερ ἱεροπρεπέστατον νομίσαντες τοῦτον τὸν τόπον καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων μνήματα ἐνταῦθα κατεσκεύασαν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. ἀξιολογώτατον δὲ τὸ Μαυσώλειον καλούμενον, ἐπὶ κρηπῖδος ὑψηλῆς λευκολίθου πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ χῶμα μέγα, ἄχρι κορυφῆς τοῖς ἀειθαλέσι τῶν δένδρων συνηρεφές· ἐπ' ἄκρῳ μὲν οὖν εἰκών ἐστι χαλκῆ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ χώματι θῆκαί εἰσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ οἰκείων, ὄπιθεν δὲ μέγα ἄλσος περιπάτους θαυμαστοὺς ἔχον· ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ ὁ τῆς καύστρας αὐτοῦ περίβολος, καὶ οὗτος λίθου λευκοῦ, κύκλῳ μὲν περικείμενον ἔχων σιδηροῦν περίφραγμα, ἐντὸς δ' αἰγείροις κατάφυτος. πλησίον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ πεδίου τούτου καὶ ἄλλο πεδίον καὶ στοαὶ κύκλῳ παμπληθεῖς καὶ ἄλση καὶ θέατρα τρία καὶ ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ ναοὶ πολυτελεῖς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀλλήλοις, ὡς πάρεργον ἂν δόξαιεν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. πάλιν δ' εἴ τις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρελθὼν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης ἴδοι παραβεβλημένην ταύτῃ καὶ βασιλικὰς στοὰς καὶ ναούς, ἴδοι δὲ καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα ἔργα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς Λιβίας περιπάτῳ, ῥᾳδίως ἐκλάθοιτ' ἂν τῶν ἔξωθεν.*

The bearing of the chronological indications of the inserted passage

on the question as to the date of Strabo's revision of his work need not be discussed here;[1] it is best treated in a broader connection. We may now turn to the second instance of this sort in the account of Latium; it is in V. iii. 10, in the description of the country between the Appian and the Latin Ways and also to the 'left' (north) of the latter. Here the transmitted text reads thus (the arrows again are mine):—

ἐφ' ἑκάτερα δὲ τῆς Λατίνης ἐν δεξιᾷ μέν εἰσιν αἱ μεταξὺ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀππίας, Σητία τε καὶ Σιγνία, . . . *πρὸς δὲ ταύταις ἐστὶ Πρίβερνον καὶ Κόρα καὶ Σύεσσα (Τραπόντιόν τε) καὶ Οὐελίτραι †καὶ Ἀλέτριον· ἔτι δὲ Φρεγέλλαι, παρ' ἣν ὁ Λεῖρις ῥεῖ ὁ εἰς τὰς Μιντούρνας ἐκδιδούς, νῦν μὲν κώμη, πόλις δέ ποτε γεγονυῖα ἀξιόλογος καὶ τὰς πολλὰς τῶν ἄρτι λεχθεισῶν περιοικίδας πρότερον ἐσχηκυῖα, αἳ νῦν εἰς αὐτὴν συνέρχονται, ἀγοράς τε ποιούμεναι καὶ ἱεροποιίας τινάς· κατεσκάφη δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστᾶσα.† πλεῖσται δ' εἰσὶ καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Λατίνῃ καὶ τῶν ἐπέκεινα ἐν τῇ Ἐρνίκων τε καὶ Αἴκων καὶ Οὐόλσκων ἱδρυμέναι, Ῥωμαίων δ' εἰσὶ κτίσματα. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς Λατίνης . . . εἶθ' αἱ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ Πραίνεστον, ἥ τε τῶν Ἐρνίκων πολίχνη Καπίτουλον καὶ Ἀναγνία, πόλις ἀξιόλογος, καὶ Κερεάτε καὶ Σώρα, †παρ' ἣν ὁ Λεῖρις παρεξιὼν εἰς Φρεγέλλας ῥεῖ καὶ Μιντούρνας.†

That something is wrong with the present position of the words between the first pair of arrows, *καὶ Ἀλέτριον . . . ἀποστᾶσα*, is clear: both Aletrium and Fregellae were situated to the left, not the right, of the Latin Way; and moreover, the repetition of the statement concerning the course of the Liris, between the second pair of arrows, *παρ' ἣν . . . Μιντούρνας*, is at least curious. These difficulties are removed if, on the hypothesis that *καὶ Ἀλέτριον . . . ἀποστᾶσα* is Strabo's revised version, intended to replace *παρ' ἣν . . . Μιντούρνας*, we transfer it to that latter position, as an alternate form of Strabo's text. This results, at the same time, in giving a comprehensible meaning to *τὰς πολλὰς τῶν ἄρτι λεχθεισῶν περιοικίδας*; for it is conceivable that Fregellae may have had some kind of hegemony over Cereate, Sora, and Aletrium, while Setia, Privernum, Cora, Suessa, and Velitrae form quite a different group of cities. The fact that certainly Fregellae, and probably Aletrium, were of solely historical interest in Strabo's day will explain both their original omission, and their subsequent insertion, by the author in his work.

A. W. VAN BUREN.

[1] See P. Meyer, *l.c.*

THE CAMPAIGN AND BATTLE OF MANTINEIA IN 418 B.C.

(PLATE II.)

AMONG the more elaborate pieces of purely military history written by Thucydides is the section (of fourteen chapters in the Fifth Book[1]) devoted to that Arkadian campaign of King Agis by which, in the late summer of 418 B.C., he ruined the far-reaching schemes of Alkibiades and restored the tarnished prestige of Sparta. According to Thucydides, this fortunate achievement was due more to good luck than to good management; not in any wise is it exhibited as the reasonably forecast outcome of cunningly contrived, if somewhat delicately articulated, machinery. Something less than justice is thereby done to one of the most remarkable personages of that time. Both by Thucydides himself, and, after his example, by most modern historians, the Spartan king, in his connexion with these operations at any rate, is pilloried without further question as a bungler, and, indeed, as little better than a fool. It would seem that the time has come to ask whether that verdict is justified.

That the narrative in question really does leave a good deal to be desired in point of coherence is tacitly admitted by even the most conservative of the modern historians who reproduce the story of the campaign. Shrinking from thorough-going criticism of it as from an impiety, they yet find themselves inevitably driven to the attempt to patch up as best they can its more obvious lacunae. Grote, for example, here and there feels compelled to foist upon it his own explanatory additions:[2] '*No*

[1] Thuc. 5. 61–75.

[2] *Hist. of Greece* (12 vols. 1884), 6. 348. The italics in this and the following quotations are ours.

stratagem, however, was necessary to induce' the Argeians and their allies to abandon their original position. Again, Agis, he says, returned to the Herakleion because he '*had found himself disappointed* in his operations upon the water. *He had either not done so much damage, or not spread so much terror, as he had expected:* and he accordingly desisted, putting himself again in march to resume his position at the Herakleion, and *supposing that his enemies still retained their position on the hill.*' Thirlwall[1] finds himself in precisely the same predicament: 'In the meanwhile Agis was returning *to ascertain the effect of his manoeuvre, with the design of occupying* the ground where he had posted himself the day before. *A projecting ridge concealed the Argive-Athenian army* from his view, until *by a sudden turn* the head of his column came close upon it.' Earlier still, Mitford,[2] in reference to these same events, has it as follows: 'Unable otherwise to compose the disorder, *they marched after the Spartan king.* This was precisely what Agis desired; and to provoke it, he had been employing his troops in diverting the course of a mountain-stream, so as to damage the Mantinean lands. *Being informed that the Confederates nevertheless persevered in holding their strong post,* he was returning, *without due precaution,* toward the hills, when he suddenly *met them advancing in order of battle along the plain.*'

These extracts may serve as typical specimens. The diversity of explanatory detail gratuitously inserted for the purpose of cementing together the ill-fitting blocks of the Thucydidean construction is clear indication that all is not as it should be—that, in short, the superficial smoothness of the ancient narrative is illusory.

Analysis of the account falls naturally under three heads: (A) The theatre of operations; (B) The movements preliminary to the battle; (C) The tactical movements in the battle itself.

A.—The Theatre of Operations.

The south-eastern portion of the Arkadian plateau is occupied by a long plain interposed between the roughly parallel mountain ranges of Mainalos (W.) and Artemision and Parthenion (E.). (Pl. II.) This plain, with a total length, north to south, of about twenty miles, falls conspicuously into two sections. The northern section, once the territory of Mantineia, is

[1] *Hist. of Greece* (8 vols. 1836), 3. 348. [2] *Hist. of Greece* (8 vols. 1838), 3. 122.

about seven miles long, from north to south, and some three miles across at its widest part; the southern section, about seven miles across, from east to west, constituted the territory of Tegea. The common frontier-line of the two territories is indicated by two confronting spurs, which thrust themselves forward from the main chain on either side, and reduce the intervening level ground to a strip about a single mile in width. The western spur, now called Mýtika, protrudes abruptly from the foot-hills of Mainalos at a point about four miles to the north of the modern town of Tripolitsá, the modern representative of the three great places of this region—Mantineia, Tegea, and Pallantion. A lower shoulder of this projection, the last fall to the plain, seems to have borne in ancient times the name of Skopé, 'Outlook'; upon it are still to be seen the remains of a watch-tower of Hellenic work overlooking the territories of the two rival cities.[1] The opposite projection is a long ridge, now called Kapnístra, which, unlike the Mýtika spur, runs, not outwards, perpendicularly to the meridional axis of the plain, but approximately parallel with it, upwards and inwards in the direction of Mantineia.

From the main expanse four subsidiary plains, or offsets, of no great area, divagate into the foot-hills. Three of these recesses communicate with the Mantineian section. On the west, the comparatively low, bare ridge that runs parallel with the noble rampart of Mainalos is breached, about half-way down its length, by the short defile of Kapsiá, giving access to the long, narrow valley of Alkimedon. On the east of the Mantineian plain, the ridge of Alesion projects southwards from the high rocky peak of Armeniá in a direction parallel with Artemision, and runs far down as though to meet the Kapnístra ridge. The southern extremity of Alesion thus stands *vis-à-vis* to the northern extremity of Kapnístra, so that, taken together, the two ridges flank a wide portal through which access is gained to the inlet of Luká (S.E.), and also to the hollow basin of the ancient Argon Pedion, or 'Fallow Plain' (N.E.), lying at the back of Alesion. The fourth offshoot from the main Arkadian plain is an extension of the Tegean section eastwards towards Parthenion. This last recess or bay is entered by way of the defile (Stenó), through which a modern high road and a railway run eastwards to ascend by toilsome windings, though by divergent routes, the mountain barrier interposed between

[1] For the Σκοπή (Paus. viii. 11. 7) see W. Loring, *Some Ancient Routes in the Peloponnese* (in *J.H.S.* xv. (1895), p. 82 f.).

Arkadia and Argolis; through this same defile flows also the river Sarandapotamós, making for the katavothras of Vértsova, the principal village in this recess.

Among the physical characteristics of the plain as above described, as of the very similar basins of Orchomenos, Pheneos, and Stymphalos, perhaps the most important are the numerous katavothras, or natural orifices of the subterranean drainage system. The Tegean group, at the foot of Parthenion, engulfs the Sarandapotamós, which swings round in a great arc north-east of Tegea in order to traverse the Stenó. The recess of Luká and the pit-like depression of the Argon Pedion both possess similar natural sinks for the reception of their surface waters; other katavothras are found at intervals all along the western edge of the Mantineian section of the plain, as well as in the narrows between Kapnístra and Mýtika. The situation of these holes—on the western edge of the Mantineian plain on the one hand, and on the other on the eastern margin of the Tegean area—is sufficient indication of the fact that while the Mantineio-Tegean plain as a whole (disregarding the swamp of Táka in its south-western corner) falls from south to north, the fall of the Mantineian section is towards the west, and that of the Tegean section towards the east.

The critical point lies in the neighbourhood of the Stenó. We see that the Sarandapotamós, after flowing due north as far as the Stenó, there swings sharply away eastwards, and so passes through the gap of the Stenó into the recess of Vértsova, and ultimately reaches the katavothras there. The Zanovísta stream, on the other hand, rising near Tegea, and flowing during the first part of its course roughly parallel to the larger river, meanders past the critical point northwards into Mantineian territory; and having run the gauntlet of the katavothras in the narrowest part of the plain, falls ultimately into the katavothra which lies just to the north of the Mýtika spur. It is obvious that but little would be required to realise either possible alternative—of diverting the Sarandapotamós into the Zanovísta channel, and so into the territory of Mantineia, or of tapping the Zanovísta near its beginnings and thus diverting its waters eastwards into the bed of the Sarandapotamós. These facts are generally supposed to have considerable bearing upon the operations undertaken by the Spartans in this campaign.

The line of military operations with which we are here concerned is marked by the two extremities, Mantineia and Tegea, the respective bases

of the Confederates and the Lacedaemonians. Within this zone two features call for more particular mention.

According to Pausanias,[1] a traveller going to Tegea by the direct road from Mantineia passed first the Mantineian Hippodrome, and not far from it the Stadion lying close under Alesion. Next, at the skirts of Alesion, was a sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios, not more than six furlongs from Mantineia. After this, he says,[2] you pass into a place called Pelagos, which is full of oaks, and the road from Mantineia to Tegea leads through the oak wood; the boundary between the two territories was marked by a circular altar on the high road. Pausanias does not say how soon after passing the temple one entered the forest; from the temple he seems to make a detour to the left (eastwards) and never resumes the description of the direct road to Tegea.

With regard to the sanctuary of Poseidon, there can be little doubt that its site has been correctly identified by the French excavators as being at the Kalývia of Miliá, something less than a mile south of the Tegean gate of Mantineia.[3] The altar marking the frontier-line may well have stood in the strait, or narrowest part of the plain, between Kapnístra and Mýtika, close to the foot of the former ridge; for the road here would naturally keep hard by the foot of the hill.

Describing the road from Mantineia to Pallantion, running obliquely down the western side of the plain, Pausanias remarks[4] that if you follow this road about thirty stades you come to a point where it skirts the oak wood of Pelagos; hereabouts, at a place called Skopé, was where Epameinondas died, and near it he was buried.[5] From his grave

[1] Paus. viii. 10. 1: *ἰόντι ἐς Τεγέαν ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου παρὰ τοῖς Μαντινέων τείχεσι χωρίον ἐς τῶν ἵππων τὸν δρόμον, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τούτου στάδιον . . . ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ σταδίου τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀλήσιον . . . παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστι τοῦ Ἱππίου τὸ ἱερόν, οὐ πρόσω σταδίου Μαντινείας* (read *οὐ πρόσω ς' σταδίων*, with A. Schäfer, *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 [1847], p. 61). According to Polybios (9. 8), the sanctuary of Poseidon *κεῖται πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἑπτὰ σταδίοις* (cf. Pol. 11. 14). Bursian (*Geogr.* 2. 216) suggests *οὐ πρόσω ἑπτασταδίου*.

[2] Paus. viii. 11. 1: *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος χωρίον ὑποδέξεταί σε δρυῶν πλῆρες, καλούμενον Πέλαγος· καὶ ἐκ Μαντινείας ἡ ἐς Τεγέαν ὁδὸς φέρει διὰ τῶν δρυῶν. Μαντινεῦσι δὲ ὅροι πρὸς Τεγεάτας εἰσὶν ὁ περιφερὴς ἐν τῇ λεωφόρῳ βωμός.*

[3] G. Fougères, *Mantinée et l'Arcadie orientale*, Paris, 1898, p. 104.

[4] Paus. viii. 11. 5: *κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Παλλάντιον ἐκ Μαντινείας ἄγουσαν προελθόντι ὡς τριάκοντά που σταδίους, παρήκει κατὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον ὁ τοῦ Πελάγους καλουμένου δρυμός.*

[5] Paus. viii. 11. 7: *ὁπόθεν δὲ ἀπέβλεπεν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὠνόμαζον Σκοπὴν οἱ ἔπειτα . . . καὶ αὐτὸν ἀφέντα τὴν ψυχὴν ἔθαψαν ἔνθα σφίσιν ἐγένετο ἡ συμβολή.* Pausanias clearly distinguishes the place of death from the place of burial. The latter was on the plain, perhaps hard by the road. It is probable that the name Skopé, which attached to the tower, or post of outlook, gave rise to the story which connected it with the last moments of Epameinondas.

it was just about a furlong to a sanctuary of Zeus Charmon, at which point likewise Pausanias breaks off his description of the route. Presumably, therefore, this temple bore to the frontier-line somewhat the same relation as the before-mentioned altar on the other side of the plain. The distance of thirty stades from Mantineia brings us just to the abutment of Mýtika.

The conclusion from these data is that the line of demarcation between the Mantineian and the Tegean territories fell between Mýtika and Kapnístra. This part of the plain was occupied by an oak forest, which, beginning at some point a little way to the south of the temple of Poseidon Hippios, and broadening out as it approached the gap, finally impinged upon the main road leading to Pallantion, and probably also quite filled the narrow space of the gap itself.

The second feature here in point is that, for ancient armies, and under ancient conditions of warfare, two principal defensive positions were found on the given line of operations. The outer, and at the same time most obvious, position is at the narrow neck of the plain, between Mýtika and Kapnístra. This position is, in fact, that which was selected by the Lacedaemonians and their allies to hold against Epameinondas in 362 B.C. For an army entering Mantineian territory from the south must inevitably traverse that pass—whether the line of its advance be by the eastern road from Tegea or the western road from Pallantion. A second line of defence was to be found some distance further up the plain, in the direction of Mantineia, where a low shoulder projects eastwards just north of the Miliá katavothra. The plain immediately south of the city of Mantineia is thereby narrowed to a breadth of about 2000 metres. This was the line of defence chosen by Philopoimen and the army of the Achaean League to hold against the Spartan tyrant Machanidas in 206 B.C.

It lay entirely with the Mantineians themselves to decide, in case of threatened invasion, whether they should stand to fight at the outermost portal, or fall back upon the inner line of defence and fight close to their own walls. An alternative to immediate battle was to occupy a post of observation on Alesion overlooking both town and plain. The situation of Mantineia, in a great *cul-de-sac*, made it a matter of exceeding difficulty for an invader to force the hand of its defenders by the time-honoured methods of Greek domestic warfare as practised in the fifth and fourth centuries.

So much for the physical features of the theatre of operations, and the possibilities which turned upon them. We follow now the course of the operations in detail, quoting the narrative of Thucydides piecemeal as text of the various sections.[1]

B.—THE MOVEMENTS PRELIMINARY TO THE BATTLE.

(1) First position of the armies.

(*a*) The Lacedaemonians.

'The Lacedaemonians, accompanied by their Arkadian allies, invaded the territory of Mantineia, and pitching their camp near the temple of Herakles, wasted the country.'

Advancing from Tegea, Agis crossed the frontier unopposed, and having occupied the Herakleion began to devastate the Mantineian plain. Unfortunately, Thucydides has not thought fit to indicate more nearly the situation of this Herakleion; nor have any remains been discovered to guide us to the site. As it was certainly on Mantineian territory,[2] we must place it northward of the Mýtika gap, but on which side of the plain?

Upon general consideration one might incline to think that it must have stood on the eastern side of the Mantineian plain, arguing that Agis would wish at all costs to ensure command of the direct road to his base at Tegea. From this point of view it is interesting to bring into comparison the movements of Agesilaos, who also invaded Mantineian territory in 370 B.C. On that occasion, however, Tegea and Mantineia were acting in unison, both being ranged against Sparta; Orchomenos, on the other hand, was the rendezvous of the contingents that were to reinforce the army of Agesilaos.[3] Under these circumstances, it was necessary for the Lacedaemonians to keep firm hold of the western road. Consequently, Agesilaos

[1] The renderings of Thucydides are throughout those of Jowett's translation, verbatim, with changes of spelling in Greek proper names. For scientific purposes, of course, Jowett's translation is not sufficiently close and accurate, so that I have prepared a revised text and translation, but it did not seem desirable to incorporate them here. Excerpts from the text of Thucydides are quoted from the edition by H. Stuart Jones (Clar. Press).

[2] This seems clear from the words (Thuc. 5. 64) *ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μαντινικήν, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι πρὸς τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ*. The battle was fought on Mantineian territory (Thuc. 5. 67: *δεξιὸν μὲν κέρας Μαντινῆς εἶχον, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων τὸ ἔργον ἐγίγνετο*), and apparently *before* the Herakleion was reached (cf. 5. 66: *πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον πάλιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ στρατόπεδον ἰόντες ὁρῶσι*, κτλ.) by the returning Lacedaemonians.

[3] Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 15 f.

made his advance by way of Eutaia, first into Tegean territory, and thence into the Mantineian plain, where he pitched his camp at the foot of the western mountains. Here he lay close to the entrance to the Alkimedon valley, which runs up towards Orchomenos and constitutes a sort of loop-line between that town and the plain of Mantineia. Not until his allies had joined him from Orchomenos did Agesilaos venture to move from his position on the west of Mantineia.

Now in the present campaign the situation was reversed. Orchomenos was in the hands of the Confederates, who were based in Mantineia; Tegea was friendly to the Lacedaemonians, who in addition looked to be reinforced by troops coming from the neighbourhood of the Isthmus. These reinforcements would be under the necessity of reaching the Mantineian plain by the pass which leads into it at its north-eastern corner. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the Herakleion selected by Agis for his advanced post on Mantineian territory must have lain somewhere upon the northern end of the Kapnístra ridge, over against Alesion. Such a position would cover his communications with Tegea, and overlook not only the main plain, but the entrances of the adjacent valleys; moreover, it would lie convenient to the quarter in which routes from the Isthmus region and Argolis debouched upon the theatre of operations. It was an admirable situation for Agis if his design was to sit down in an advanced position in the enemy territory, there to await his allies from the north.

Notwithstanding all this, it seems not unlikely that the Herakleion was actually on the opposite side of the plain. It is an old guess[1] that it lay near Kapsiá, where, as above described, a short pass makes lateral communication with the Alkimedon valley. This defile of Kapsiá, however, opening as it does due west of the city of Mantineia, at a distance of about two miles, is too far up the plain to have served the turn of Agis; but the sacred enclosure may well have stood somewhat lower down, southwards, in that recess which is seen just beyond the Mýtika spur. Posted thereabouts, the Lacedaemonians would not be too far from the portal through which they had entered the plain, and at the same time would be advantageously placed on the tender side—that is to say, the right flank—of

[1] E. Curtius, *Peloponn.* I. 243: 'Wegen der Verbindung, in welche die Sage den Herakles mit Alkimedon brachte, lässt sich vermuthen, dass das von Thukydides in der Nähe von Mantineia erwähnte Herakleion unweit der Alkimedonebene an den Höhen von Kapsa lag."

any force of Confederates issuing from Mantineia with the intention of cutting them off from that opening. Agis may, in fact, have been led to select a position on this side of the plain in the deliberate design of tempting the Confederates to fight under conditions which seemed to weigh wholly in their favour. In this connection it is to be remembered that not many weeks had elapsed since the Argeians had won, or fancied they had won,[1] a strategic victory over this same Spartan king, who had then averted disaster only by assenting to terms which had very nearly ruined him at home.[2] Whatever the real truth of the situation on that occasion, it still remained a fact that the Lacedaemonians had preferred not to face the chances of battle. That Agis was now desperately anxious to fight, and to fight soon, is demonstrable from Thucydides himself; and this being so, he may well have thought himself justified in giving away a good deal in order to make the challenge as attractive as possible to his opponents. Upon the whole, then, we may doubt whether the position of Agis was not actually on the western side of the plain, identical in locality, perhaps, with that which Agesilaos occupied nearly half a century later.

(*b*) The Confederates.

'When the Argeians and their allies saw the enemy they took up a steep and hardly assailable position, and arranged themselves in order of battle.'

There can be little doubt that the heights occupied by the Confederates were those of Alesion, projecting like a bulwark in front of Mantineia. That ridge was of supreme value, from a military point of view, for the Mantineians, both from the way in which it flanked the main southern road, and because its proximity to the town put communication between the two beyond practical risk of severance. Moreover, Alesion terminates on the south in a steep face, separated by a not inconsiderable stretch of level ground from the opposing end of the Kapnístra ridge. Hence an enemy's occupation of the latter heights did not by any means

[1] Thuc. 5. 59: *τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων οὐχ οὕτω δεινὸν τὸ παρὸν ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλ' ἐν καλῷ ἐδόκει ἡ μάχη ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπειληφέναι ἐν τῇ αὑτῶν τε καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει.*

[2] Thuc. 5. 63: *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ Ἄργους τὰς τετραμήνους σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι, Ἄγιν ἐν μεγάλῃ αἰτίᾳ εἶχον οὐ χειρωσάμενον σφίσιν Ἄργος, παρασχὸν καλῶς ὡς οὔπω πρότερον αὐτοὶ ἐνόμιζον.*

imply control of the Alesion ridge, which, indeed, was sufficiently steep to make its direct assault a hazardous venture.

If Agis wished to entice the Confederates to a pitched battle he was disappointed. True, they came out of the town in force, but not into the plain to fight. They went up instead to their strong post of observation on Alesion, to descend from which they showed not the slightest inclination. Under the circumstances this was a highly intelligent method of conducting the defence, though one extremely inconvenient for the Lacedaemonians. It was, indeed, hardly playing the game by the book; for by all precedent the Mantineians should have rescued their farms from pillage by immediate acceptance of the wager of battle. It rested, therefore, with Agis once more to make a move; and in spite of the natural strength of the enemy's position he seemed to have no option but to call upon his troops for a supreme effort, and to endeavour to carry Alesion by assault.

(2) The stratagem of Agis.

'The Lacedaemonians instantly charged them, and had proceeded within a javelin or stone's throw when one of the elder Spartans, seeing the strength of the ground which they were attacking, called out to Agis that he was trying to mend one error by another; he meant to say that his present mistaken forwardness was intended to repair the discredit of his former retreat. And, either in consequence of this exclamation or because some new thought suddenly struck him, he withdrew his army in haste without actually engaging.'

According to Thucydides, the Lacedaemonians had already begun their attack upon the heights occupied by the Confederates—had, indeed, actually advanced within range of missile weapons—when they suddenly halted, faced about, and then drew off across the plain southwards, and so in the end disappeared from view, leaving the Confederates agape with astonishment. Sudden apostrophe from the lips of an old Spartan broke the spell that lay upon the Lacedaemonians, and with eyes opened at a stroke to the desperate nature of the business on which they were embarked, both king and army showed the white feather, and forthwith retreated—mightily glad, doubtless, that the enemy was too slow in collecting his scattered wits to come pouring down at their heels to

convert retreat into headlong rout. As described by Thucydides, the affair is surely one of the most amazing to be found in Greek military history. Surely some deeper explanation than appears in the narrative of this strange episode must be forthcoming.

Looking forward to the narrative of the subsequent battle, we find that at the outset the right wing of the Confederate army pushed back the Lacedaemonians upon their waggons, which were parked in the rear of the phalanx, and killed a number of the older men there posted to protect them.[1] The Lacedaemonians' waggon-train which thus suddenly and only for a moment comes into view had assuredly not been brought up from Tegea for the first time on the morning of the day of battle. It must have been with the army from the outset, when the Mantineian Herakleion was seized at the first. How, then, had it been withdrawn on the day of the general retirement which was the sequel of the abortive attack on Alesion? Clearly, the train must have been already in motion when the attack was being launched against the Confederates. While the Lacedaemonians were carrying out that advance against the hill, their helots must have been hard at work getting the waggons away down the road. In other words, among the objects at which that hazardous operation aimed, one at least was that of amusing the enemy in order to cover the withdrawal of the waggon-train, which thus passed on ahead of the retiring column. Thucydides was either ignorant of this detail, or, being aware of it, quite missed its significance. Looking at the episode with his eyes, we should have to conclude that the enterprise against Alesion was simply a piece of military *gaucherie* which the generals of the Confederates, with ineptitude on all fours with that of Agis, allowed to pass without the obvious and effective reply. It turns out, on the contrary, to have been a feint, a highly practical and brilliantly-executed manoeuvre which had for its primary object the extrication of the army of Agis from the *cul-de-sac* into which it had ventured on the perilous chance of enticing the enemy forth to stake all on the hazard of battle.

(*a*) Movements of the Lacedaemonians.

'He marched back into the district of Tegea, and proceeded to turn the water into the Mantineian territory. This water is a constant source

[1] Thuc. 5. 72: *τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους διέφθειρον καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι ἔτρεψαν καὶ ἐξέωσαν ἐς τὰς ἁμάξας καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων ἀπέκτειναν τινας*

of war between the Mantineians and Tegeans, on account of the great harm which is done to one or other of them according to the direction which the stream takes. Agis hoped that the Argeians and their allies when they heard of this movement would come down from the hill and try to prevent it ; he could then fight them on level ground. Accordingly he stayed about the water during the whole day, diverting the stream.'

It is at this point that the modern commentators are especially pleased, some referring to the strange, confused, and utterly illogical note of Arnold on this passage, who derives his farrago of nonsense from Leake —others, more up-to-date, to the views of Fougères[1] ; all convinced that here at least we are on firm ground and able to give a perfectly coherent and satisfactory explanation of the procedure. It is indeed true that, if we are to be guided by the superficial aspect of the Tegean plain as it now exists, there is, as already explained, properly only one place at which the diversion of the stream alleged to have been undertaken by Agis can have been feasible. The point in question, however, lies entirely within Tegean territory, lies, in fact, so close to the city of Tegea itself that, in the given circumstances, there cannot have been the remotest likelihood of the Mantineians and their allies attempting to thwart the operation of diversion. This becomes evident at once when account is taken of the fact that the Confederates had already demonstrated their reluctance to risk an offensive, even in the vicinity of Mantineia and with the conditions almost wholly in their favour. How could it be imagined that they would now suddenly show themselves more complaisant, and consent to take the offensive on Tegean territory, on ground chosen by the enemy? As a matter of fact, the Confederates refused to commit that folly—if it ever lay in the design of Agis to tempt them to do so. True, they descended from the high ground—so much of the king's anticipations was realised—but only to occupy a second defensive position of their own choosing, making not the slightest attempt to interrupt the alleged engineering labours of the enemy. It is surely remarkable that Thucydides, just at this point of all others, is able to vouch for the designs in the mind of Agis ; for it is just at this point that, according to the narrative of Thucydides himself, the Spartan leader found himself most gravely out in his calculations. Yet here Thucydides solemnly gives us what purports to

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 44 f. and 576.

be the grand secret, the deep-lying plan which was entirely thrown out in the event!

The truth is that the hydrography of the plain does not, as commonly supposed, furnish the key to the operations of this campaign. Thucydides is putting forward a mere guess, and that not a good one, by way of explaining movements the rationale of which quite eluded him. Nor is it difficult to show that his account is a tissue of incoherences and contradictions. He informs us, with great precision, that the remainder of the day of retreat was devoted to the diversion of the stream, that the army bivouacked that night near the scene of its labours, and that next day it set out to return to its former camp at the Herakleion. We are to imagine, therefore, that the Lacedaemonians had accomplished their immediate object of diverting the stream; otherwise we are left with the obvious but unanswered question why a second, or even a third, day should not have been spent on the work. Agis surely could not demand that the Confederates must necessarily make their intervention that same afternoon or evening. Presumably, then, his ultimate object of inducing the Confederates to evacuate their first position was deemed also to have been secured as a result of the army's labours with pick and shovel. Not a syllable of the narrative warrants the suspicion that, for some reason or other, the alteration of the channel had not been carried out, or that somehow it had failed of its intended effect. Then how account for the alleged consternation of the Lacedaemonians when, as we are told later,[1] they discovered that the Confederates had abandoned Alesion and had come down into the plain? That they should take this fatal step had been the objective of all the Lacedaemonian manoeuvres.

We may with good reason doubt whether, at that time of year, the immediate results of an alteration in the course of the stream could have been really worth the trouble. Waiving this point, however, let us try to make clear to ourselves what Agis stood to gain by flooding the lower part of the Mantineian plain in the manner suggested. The most that could be achieved, on the most favourable assumption, was that all access to Mantineian territory would be barred effectually in the face of the Lacedaemonians themselves; and if the Confederates refused to accept the invitation to come out for castigation, what was to be done? The result

[1] Thuc. 5. 66: *ὁρῶσι δι' ὀλίγου τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν τάξει τε ἤδη πάντας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου προεληλυθότας. μάλιστα δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς ὃ ἐμέμνηντο ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐξεπλάγησαν.*

must have been an *impasse* that would suit Agis least of all; for nothing short of a victory in the field could save the situation for him and for Sparta.

As a matter of hard fact, it was absolutely impossible to flood the lower Mantineian plain to any serious extent if the Mantineian katavothras were in working order. Who was to guarantee the contrary? Was Agis merely gambling upon the bare chance? Or, happy thought! shall we surmise that—though Thucydides says nothing about it—the Lacedaemonians, while lying at the Herakleion, had been taking measures to choke the katavothras on that side of the plain? Why, then, had the Confederates not intervened, they being, we are asked to believe, so entirely ready, or not unlikely to take that desperate measure under circumstances far less advantageous to themselves? Escape from these perplexities is impossible so long as we persist in clinging to this apocryphal element of the alleged design of the king in reference to the Tegean stream. The motive Thucydides assigns for the retirement of the Lacedaemonians from the Mantineian plain is nothing but a figment of his own imagination.

(*b*) Movements of the Confederates.

'Now the Argeians and their confederates were at first amazed at the sudden retreat of their enemies when they were so near, and did not know what to think. But when the Lacedaemonians had retired and disappeared from view, and they found themselves standing still and not pursuing, they once more began to blame their own general. Their cry was that they had already let the Lacedaemonians slip when they had them at a disadvantage close to Argos; and now they were running away and no one pursued them; the enemy were just allowed to escape, while their own army was quietly betrayed. The commanders were at first bewildered by the outcry; but soon they quitted the hill, and advancing into the plain took up a position with the intention of attacking. On the following day the Argeians and their allies drew themselves up in the order in which they intended to fight should they meet with the enemy. Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians returned from the water to their old encampment near the temple of Herakles. There they saw quite close to them the Argeian army, which had moved on from the hill, and was already in order of battle. Never within living memory were the Lacedaemonians more dismayed than at that instant.'

Describing the movements of the Confederates after they had evacuated the first position and descended to the plain, Thucydides says that they drew themselves up in the order in which they meant to fight if they fell in with the enemy. This sentence, it is clear, gives the lie to the subsequent description of the dismay of the Lacedaemonians when they came upon the Confederate army. For there is no evading the question how it came about that the Confederates should have been expecting the Lacedaemonians, while the latter had no suspicion of the enemy's proximity. On the face of things, the Lacedaemonians had departed for good, glad to save their skins; such was the interpretation naturally given by the rank and file of the Confederates to the strange doings at Alesion. That some other explanation was possible, and that the Lacedaemonians would reappear the day following on that fiasco, was not at all in the Confederates' thoughts, so far as appears from the account given by Thucydides. Nevertheless, here we find both sides doing precisely what, from their previously described attitude and actions, one would least expect them to do. The Confederates, who had absolutely no grounds for supposing that the Lacedaemonians would reappear, are standing on the alert, prepared for action; the Lacedaemonians, who on the previous day ran away—no less, according to Thucydides[1]—are here back again, apparently not very clear for what precise purpose, certainly not for fighting, at least just then and there: so much at least is vouched for by Thucydides, who has already laid claim to be in the confidence of the high command, on the one side, if not on both.

As a matter of fact, it is not difficult to show that the alleged consternation of the Lacedaemonians has something so highly suspicious about it that it must either receive some more reasonable explanation than appears on the face of the narrative, or else be forthwith rejected. For if it be argued that Thucydides means no more than that the Lacedaemonians did not expect to discover the enemy just then and just there, where did they expect to find them? There were, in fact, only three possibilities. Either the Confederates had withdrawn from Alesion into the town, or they were still upon that ridge, or they were somewhere out on the plain. That the Alesion ridge had been abandoned was matter of immediate observation, for the ridge is very conspicuous from almost every point of the plain.

[1] Thuc. 5. 65: *τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ τάχος πρὶν ξυμμεῖξαι ἀπῆγεν.* What *κατὰ τάχος* looked like is shown lower down, where the Confederates *τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατηγοὺς αὖθις ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶχον . . . νῦν ὅτι ἀποδιδράσκοντας οὐδεὶς ἐπιδιώκει.* There can be no doubt as to the (simulated) character of the withdrawal.

Agis and the whole Lacedaemonian army had really but two possibilities with which to reckon. Upon what evidence, then, is it surmised that Agis concluded that the enemy had retired into the town? The mere fact that the Confederates had not as yet made their appearance on Tegean territory could not justify such inference; for of course they might be at that moment actually in march to the stream, for that very purpose of intervention which we are told Agis both expected and desired. It is obvious that, upon the evidence of his own eyesight, Agis was bound to act upon the prudential assumption that the enemy was then upon the plain, either in march towards him, or in position to receive him. If the latter, there were but two positions in point, upon the given line of operations. The veriest tiro in the Lacedaemonian army must have been alive to the certainty that, if the enemy were to be encountered at all, it would be either at the Mýtika defile or at the inner line, close to Mantineia. Failing the one, then inevitably at the other. Choice of position confessedly lying with the Confederates, why should Agis, or anyone else, assume that they were incapable of exercising it in a reasonable manner? The course of the campaign up to that moment, at any rate, had surely proved that the Confederate generals were no fools.

The truth is that Agis was just as little taken aback by the encounter as the Confederates themselves. He knew well that when he marched this second time into the Mantineian plain he would discover the Confederates in position for battle; he knew also, none better, exactly at what point he might count upon coming in contact with them. The problem before him had been to inveigle out of an all but unassailable position an enemy who had hitherto clung obstinately to a passive defensive. By his own evacuation of Mantineian territory, under the circumstances and in the manner already described, he counted upon inspiring the Confederate army with an illusory confidence and a thorough contempt for their opponents, in order that thus encouraged they might leave their strong position and accept battle on the plain. Then he would turn and smite them, before their Eleian allies could reinforce them.

(3) The deployment of the Lacedaemonians.

'Not a moment was to be lost: immediately they hurried every man to his own place, the king Agis, according to the law, directing their several movements. . . . On this occasion the Skiritai formed the left wing, a

position to which in the Lacedaemonian army they have a peculiar and exclusive right. Next to the Skiritai were placed the troops who had served in Chalkidike under Brasidas, and with them the Neodamodes. Next in order were ranged the several divisions of the Lacedaemonian army, and near them the Heraians of Arkadia; next the Mainalians, and on the right wing the Tegeans, and a few Lacedaemonians at the extreme point of the line; the cavalry were placed on both wings. On the right wing of the enemy were placed the Mantineians, because the action was to be fought in their country, and next to them such of the Arkadians as were their allies. Then came the select force of a thousand Argeians, whom the city had long trained at the public expense in military exercises; next the other Argeians, and after them their allies, the Kleonaians and Orneatai. Last of all the Athenians occupied the left wing, supported by their own cavalry. Such was the order and composition of the two armies: that of the Lacedaemonians appeared to be the larger. . . . The two armies were now on the point of engaging, but first the several commanders addressed exhortations to their own contingents.'

What is the shortest time in which it can have been possible for the Lacedaemonian army of over ten thousand hoplites[1] to deploy from column of march into line of battle? We must be done with the vaporous speculations inspired by the simple words of Thucydides. Says Thirlwall[2]: 'Yet on this occasion the excellence of their [*sc.* the Lacedaemonians'] system of tactics, as it was brought to an unusual test, was the more signally displayed. The line of battle was quietly and rapidly formed, every man falling into his place with his wonted ease, before the enemy could take any advantage of their vicinity.' In the same strain Grote[3]: 'All the various military manoeuvres were familiar to the Lacedaemonians from their unremitting drill, so that their armies enjoyed the advantage of readier obedience along with more systematic command. Accordingly, though thus taken by surprise, and called on now for the first time in their lives to form in the presence of an enemy, they only manifested the greater promptitude and anxious haste in obeying the orders of Agis, transmitted through the regular series of officers. The battle-array was attained, with regularity as well as with speed.' The climax of absurdity is reached by

[1] It did not seem necessary to discuss in this place the question of numbers. I have therefore been content to adopt a round figure which is sufficiently near the truth.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 349. [3] *Op. cit.* p. 350.

Fougères, who writes[1]: 'Il fut tout surpris et effrayé de rencontrer l'ennemi au bas de la hauteur et étalant à peu de distance son front de bataille. Il ne lui restait qu'à passer rapidement de l'ordre de marche à la formation de combat, ce qui fut fait en quelques instants,' and this by the Brobdingnagian host which he imagines[2] of '58,000 combattants, dont environ 17,000 hoplites.'

Attention has been so much engaged by this chorus of admiration of the alleged phenomenal rapidity with which the Lacedaemonian line of battle was formed that two obvious, and indeed decisive, considerations have been altogether neglected. Firstly, three considerable Arkadian contingents, those of the Mainalians, Heraians, and Tegeans, were present with the Lacedaemonians, and these deployed for action apparently with the same accuracy and the same dispatch as the Lacedaemonians themselves. What becomes, then, of those boasted attributes of organisation, training, and discipline universally claimed for the Lacedaemonians alone? What is sauce for the goose is sauce also for the gander. Secondly, Thucydides neither asserts nor implies that the army of Agis more than half expected to see the Confederates sweeping down upon them before their own line was ready to meet them. As a matter of fact, Thucydides practically vouches for the opposite; for after these moments of supposed breathless excitement and hardly averted tragedy, all arrangements happily completed, there ensued a not inconsiderable interval before the order for the charge,[3] an interval occupied, on both sides, by those exhortations and other emotional stimulants that were a normal and necessary prelude to action in the case of Greek armies. The current idea, that the Lacedaemonians had staved off frightful disaster only by a marvellous serenity and equally wonderful pitch of training and discipline, is at variance with the facts of normal Hellenic practice in pitched battles. This is, in fact, amply, though indeed quite inconsistently, acknowledged by Grote.[4] 'It does not appear,' he remarks, 'that the generals on the Argeian side made any attempt to charge while the Lacedaemonian battle-array was yet incomplete. It was necessary for them, according to Grecian practice, to wind up the courage of their troops by some words of exhortation and

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 576.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 574.

[3] Thuc. 5. 69: *ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυνιέναι ἔμελλον ἤδη, ἐνταῦθα καὶ παραινέσεις καθ' ἑκάστους ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων στρατηγῶν τοιαίδε ἐγίγνοντο . . . καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ ξύνοδος ἦν.*

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 352 f.

encouragement ; and before these were finished, the Lacedaemonians may probably have attained their order.' 'May probably have attained their order.' If anything is certain it is, not merely that the Lacedaemonians had attained their order before the Confederates advanced a single yard, but also that to forestall its attainment had never lain within the remotest range of the enemy's intentions. And so far from the Lacedaemonians having been 'called on now for the first time in their lives to form in the presence of an enemy,' this was precisely what they, and any other Greek troops of the line of that day, were accustomed to do whenever and wherever they must fight a regular action.

Unquestionably, provision must have been made for rapid and orderly deployment—some arrangements, that is to say, over and above the normal and customary provision governing the mere evolution of a line of battle from a marching column. The movements of units at the critical moment were such that the final result, as exhibited in the phalanx ready for the charge, was something more than the fortuitous outcome of an unforeseen emergency successfully met. The battle-array described by Thucydides was an array which, in its main features, had been predetermined by Agis himself, and predetermined strictly with reference to the special tactical scheme in his own mind, unless, of course, one is prepared to assert that a Greek phalanx was always a mere fortuitous concourse of armed men pushing and crowding into line in a purely haphazard and unregulated fashion, the whole thing entirely destitute of any governing idea or operative scheme.

In point of fact, analysis of the Lacedaemonian order of battle at once reveals unmistakable and highly instructive evidence of design in the place assigned to the various corps. Over against the formidable mass of the Mantineians and the Argeian *corps d'élite* are ranged Skiritai and the veterans of Brasidas—troops of excellent quality from a professional point of view, but socially and politically of little account. At the other end of the line, the Tegeans, who as staunch upholders of the northern outpost of Lacedaemonian power were not unnecessarily to be taken too heavily in toll, are so placed as to range far beyond the Athenians ; the weight of the Athenian onset would consequently fall chiefly upon the Heraians and Mainalians, and indeed mainly upon the latter—these again an element of quite inferior account, in a social and political point of view. The Lacedaemonians themselves, the finest

troops that Hellas could show, are confronted by no opponents more formidable than the raw militia of Argos. Was this arrangement purely accidental? A piece of sheer good luck, enabling Agis to reap where he had not sowed? Someone in the Lacedaemonian army must have kept his wits about him to good purpose in the alleged universal consternation. According to Thucydides,[1] curiously enough, this had been none other than king Agis himself.

And that is clearly neither more nor less than the truth. Agis, however, whose head was a vast deal cooler than Thucydides ever dreamt or would admit, relied neither upon the chapter of accidents nor upon the inspiration of the moment, but upon his own foresight and forethought, backed by the discipline and manoeuvring capacity of his troops. Hence his order of battle exhibits in effect a bi-partition of his forces: his left and centre being composed of the most highly trained, most experienced, and most reliable units; his right composed of Arkadian levies, which upon the whole, and in comparison, were less accomplished, less experienced, and at a pinch less trustworthy than the other. Moreover, by way of reducing to absolute minimum the chances of disaster, these troops of the right were extended far beyond the hostile wing; so that when in due course they wheeled inwards upon its flank they would effectually check or 'break' its advance.

All this surely implies careful and minute prevision, with the object of ensuring that the operation of deployment should be carried out accurately and smoothly in accordance with a definite programme. Very different this from the current conception, in which instinctive discipline and a sort of second nature of the rank and file are invoked to do duty for the intelligence and foresight of the commander-in-chief. Exactly how long the deployment must actually have taken is neither here nor there—given that the operation is once correctly apprehended as one that must have consumed a good deal more time than is generally imagined; and further, that here all was effected in quite normal fashion —even down to those 'few stirring words' and patriotic songs, which, on the respective sides, carried off the last bad quarter of an hour during which the opposing ranks were staring at each other across the midspace, waiting for the order to charge.

[1] Thuc. 5. 66: *καὶ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καθίσταντο ἐς κόσμον τὸν ἑαυτῶν, Ἄγιδος τοῦ βασιλέως ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένου κατὰ τὸν νόμον.*

C.—THE BATTLE.

(1) The Advance.

'At length the two armies went forward. The Argeians and their allies advanced to the charge with great fury and determination. The Lacedaemonians moved slowly and to the music of many flute-players. . . . Before they had actually closed a thought occurred to Agis. All armies, when engaging, are apt to thrust outward their right wing; and either of the opposing forces tends to out-flank his enemy's left with his own right, because every soldier individually fears for his exposed side, which he tries to cover with the shield of his comrade on the right, conceiving that the closer he draws in the better he will be protected. The first man in the front rank of the right wing is originally responsible for the deflection, for he always wants to withdraw from the enemy his own exposed side, and the rest of the army, from a like fear, follow his example. In this battle the line of the Mantineians, who were on the Argeian right wing, extended far beyond the Skiritai; and still further, in proportion as the army to which they belonged was the larger, did the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans on the Lacedaemonian right wing extend beyond the Athenian left. Agis was afraid that the Lacedaemonian left wing would be surrounded, and, thinking that the Mantineians out-flanked them too far, he signalled to the Skiritai and the old soldiers of Brasidas to make a lateral movement away from his own division of the army, and so cover the line of the Mantineians: to fill up the space thus left vacant he ordered Hipponoïdas and Aristokles, two of the Polemarchs, to bring up their two divisions from the right wing.'

Having described, with admirable fullness and clearness, the order in which the several corps on either side were marshalled in the phalanx, Thucydides proceeds to explain with great nicety a certain general characteristic of the advance in line of bodies of Greek hoplites, and to relate the effect of this in the present instance. The gist of the matter is that Greek infantry charging in line would not advance in a direction perpendicular to their base of departure, but persisted in bearing continually towards their own right. The result of such deflection was that, by the time contact was made between the colliding masses, the right wing of either army found itself overlapping the left wing of the opposing phalanx, to a greater or less extent.

This famous passage in which Thucydides professes to give his readers a glimpse into the working of the mind of the Greek hoplite going into action, has furnished the text of a very tradition of false exegesis. The misconceptions which have gathered about it have their origin, it must be confessed, with Thucydides himself. They spring directly from his determination to find a purely psychological explanation of the phenomenon in question, whereas the true explanation lies in a different direction. We cannot follow him in deducing the obliquity of the advance of a line of hoplites from an overmastering impulse in each man to seek the protection of the shield of his right-hand comrade in the line. Such impulse, if really existent and operative to the extent claimed, clearly cannot have worked with the same intensity in each individual, but with every gradation of effect throughout the line, until, growing as it were by mutual contagion, it must have bid fair to burst the bonds of discipline and bring about the disruption of the entire phalanx. Originating confessedly in fear,[1] it could only end, at best, in a courage of sheer despair —a conclusion to which all Greek military history gives the lie.

The true cause of the deflection lay, not in fear, as Thucydides asserts, but in the simple fact that every man in the line carried a big, heavy shield The shield entirely covered the hoplite's left arm and side, but only partially covered the front of his body. The natural tendency, and indeed proper procedure, of the hoplite marching forward into action with his comrades was, therefore, not to advance squarely to his front; partly because each man must needs keep his shield, rather than his own body, squarely confronting the foe, partly because the great shield itself offered distinct impediment to direct forward motion. The stride was made with most convenience, not directly towards the shield, but, as it were, parallel with it. Further, this obliquity of presentation or half-turn to the right put the individual hoplites of each phalanx into precisely the correct position for immediate and effective application of weight at the moment of contact with the enemy. For a conflict of hoplites was, in the main, a matter of brawn, of shock of the mass developed instantaneously as a

[1] Thuc. 5. 71 : *διὰ τὸ φοβουμένους προσστέλλειν τὰ γυμνὰ ἕκαστον ὡς μάλιστα τῇ τοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ παρατεταγμένου ἀσπίδι . . . ἕπονται δὲ διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι.* It is useless to try to water down this reiterated *φόβος* to something less portentous. In Grote's account (6. 354) it appears only as done 'in order to avoid exposing their own unshielded side; while for the same reason every man along the line took care to keep close to the shield of his right-hand neighbour'—and not a syllable betrays the *φόβος* of the original.

steady thrust, a literal pushing of the enemy off the ground he occupied at the moment of closing. The notion that each man in the line was bent on getting under cover of the shield of his fellow on the right is, to put it with blunt truth, nothing but a fatuous delusion and sheer nonsense.

Now be the truth as it may in the case of other Hellenic armies of this period, in the case of Lacedaemonian armies, at all events, with their higher standard of drill, more developed articulation, and more instinctive discipline, the above-described obliquity of movement on the part of the charging phalanx was completely under the control of its commander-in-chief. Since it was the natural, inevitable, and calculable effect of a purely physical cause fully understood and perfectly familiar in military praxis, it was amenable to official control to a degree quite out of the question in dealing with one originating in a mere instinct of self-preservation, such as Thucydides postulates. Proof of this is found—and where better?—in the narrative—nay, in the very chapter—now before us. Conspicuous in it is the explicit testimony that Agis controlled so absolutely the movements of his left wing that, although it was already advancing, already committed to the diagonal of direction set for the entire line by the file-leader of the right wing—who is expressly named as responsible for the deflection of the phalanx as a whole[1]—the king's order effected an immediate change of its direction; with the result that the units of the left began at once to take ground towards their own shield-arm, away from the centre, the units of the centre and right meanwhile continuing to press forward in the direction given at the outset, sheering off towards the spear-arm, ever further away from those of the left wing. If one thing emerges from the account more clearly than another, it is the implication that Agis entertained not the shadow of a doubt on the score of his own power to direct, up to the very last moment before contact, the advance of any portion of his line upon any desired objective.

(2) The Action.

'When they were at close quarters with the enemy, the Mantineian right put to flight the Skiritai and the soldiers of Brasidas. The Mantineians and their allies and the thousand chosen Argeians dashed in through the gap in the Lacedaemonian ranks and completed their defeat;

[1] Thuc. 5. 71: *καὶ ἡγεῖται μὲν τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης ὁ πρωτοστάτης τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως, προθυμούμενος ἐξαλλάσσειν αἰεὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γύμνωσιν.* Thucydides is here right in regard to the fact, but his explanation is imaginary.

they surrounded and routed them, and so drove them to their waggons, where they killed some of the elder men who were appointed to guard them. In this part of the field the Lacedaemonians were beaten, but elsewhere, and especially in the centre of the army, where the king Agis and the three hundred Knights, as they are called, who attend him, were posted, they charged the elder Argeians, the Five Divisions as they are termed, the Kleonaians, Orneatai, and those of the Athenians who were ranged with them, and put them to flight. Most of them never even struck a blow, but gave way at once on the approach of the Lacedaemonians; some were actually trodden under foot, being overtaken by the advancing host.'

The right wing of the Mantineian phalanx enveloped the Lacedaemonian left wing, consisting of the Skiritai, the veterans of Brasidas, and the Neodamodes, while the main body of the Mantineians, in conjunction with their Arkadian allies, held it fast in front; simultaneously the thousand picked Argeians, dashing into the gap in the Lacedaemonian phalanx, completed the isolation and discomfiture of the sundered wing. Whilst this was happening on the left of the Lacedaemonians, their centre, where the king himself was posted with his three hundred Guards, fell upon the main body of the Argeians and quickly brought them and their allies, along with a portion of the Athenian contingent, into the condition of a fleeing rabble. From all this it seems clear that Agis and the Lacedaemonians of the centre had as their immediate opponents practically none but the general body of Argeians, who stood to the left of the Argeian *corps d'élite*. This latter corps, at the instant of contact, had actually no enemy troops at all in its front, but was able unchecked to hurl itself straight into the gap or breach in the Lacedaemonian line.

In the realisation of the above fact, that the gap in the Lacedaemonian phalanx was opened directly in face of the Argeian *corps d'élite*, we hold the key to the tactics of Agis in the battle. His design was to tempt that corps to take advantage of the gap, to its own undoing. For the inevitable upshot would be that the enemy's line would be torn asunder, as it were by its own momentum. If the Confederates fell into the trap thus set for them, the Argeian *corps d'élite* together with the Mantineian contingent, two of the most efficient elements of their entire array, would lose touch with the centre, and expose the phalanx to piecemeal destruction. More-

over, the blow delivered by the *corps d'élite* would fall harmlessly in the air. The dreadful momentum of its charge would be reduced, and indeed would fall almost to zero, through the necessity of its swinging round to the right in order to close upon the flank and rear of the isolated troops of the Lacedaemonian left. This was precisely what occurred; but that it did so was the clearly foreseen and nicely calculated issue of tactics which Thucydides never in the least comprehended, and only imperfectly described.[1]

(3) The Rôle of the two Polemarchs.

'Agis was afraid that the Lacedaemonian left wing would be surrounded, and thinking that the Mantineians outflanked them too far, he signalled to the Skiritai and the old soldiers of Brasidas to make a lateral movement away from his own division of the army, and so cover the line of the Mantineians: to fill up the space thus left vacant he ordered Hipponoïdas and Aristokles, two of the Polemarchs, to bring up their two divisions from the right wing, thinking that he would still have more troops than he wanted there, and that he would thus strengthen that part of his line which was opposed to the Mantineians. He had given the order at the last moment, when the charge had already begun, and Aristokles and Hipponoïdas refused to make the movement. For the cowardice which they were supposed to have shown on this occasion they were afterwards banished from Sparta. The enemy were upon him before he was ready, and as the two divisions would not advance into the place left by the Skiritai, Agis ordered the Skiritai themselves to close up, but he found that it was too late, and that neither would they now fill the vacant space. Then the Lacedaemonians showed in a remarkable manner that, although utterly failing in their tactics, they could win by their courage alone.'

Reverting to the moment when, according to Thucydides, there flashed upon the king's ill-balanced mind the idea of counteracting the tendency

[1] From his expression in chap. 68: *τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μεῖζον ἐφάνη*, it has been conjectured that Thucydides was himself an eye-witness of the battle (cf. Thirl. *Hist. of Gr.* 3. 349, 'the eye-witness seems to speak'). The whole character of the account seems to disprove this. More probably Thucydides derived his information, such as it was, in part at least from one or other of the exiled Polemarchs, or from both; they were naturally not so anxious to make things clear, as to see that Thucydides represented the king in what they regarded as the proper light. That information derived from an eye-witness, if not from a principal actor in the drama, underlies the narrative is very probable; but proof of this depends upon more subtle evidence than that adduced above, and is reserved for another place.

of the phalanx to edge away to the right, let us inquire what his design really was. If we are to believe Thucydides, whose account of the matter has never before been subjected to critical weighing, Agis, once more attempting to cure ill by ill, found no other resource than the most clumsy and perilous of expedients, the crude and ill-timed experiment of actually breaking off a portion of his already advancing line, and marching troops from the other wing to fill the gap; which brilliant scheme was frustrated, partly by rank insubordination of two of his principal officers (later very properly punished), and partly by the Confederates' lack of consideration in not holding back their own headlong and furious charge until the counter-measures of Agis were completed.

What exactly was the rôle assigned to the two Polemarchs? As reported they were to bring up their men from the right to fill the vacancy on the left of the centre. Now, as a matter of fact and common sense, if this was what was demanded of them, it was physically an utter impossibility. A moment's consideration of the situation is sufficient to convince us that long before the Polemarchs with their troops from the right could possibly arrive at the gap it must inevitably be penetrated by the Argeian special corps. On the other hand, if the sentence subsequently pronounced upon, or anticipated by, the two Polemarchs was their desert, the transference ordered by Agis cannot have been a demonstrable absurdity. His orders cannot have been determined by what was merely desirable, irrespective of its immediate practicability. Agis must have been able to prove that the manoeuvre in question was feasible, not simply in and for itself, but under the perilous conditions of action, and in the particular circumstances of *this* action, that it was reasonable and expedient, and that refusal to carry it out had gravely prejudiced the situation for the whole army. Each and all of these arguments could be established to demonstration before any reasonable tribunal, and undoubtedly were so established to the undoing of the two recalcitrant Polemarchs.

Equally beyond dispute is it that if the king's orders had in view nothing but a transference of a portion of his troops from the right to the vacant space on the left, their performance, under the condition as described, was a sheer impossibility. For the advance of the Lacedaemonians might be as deliberate and orderly as they had a mind to make it; but that could not prescribe the law for the Confederates, who as a matter of fact

charged with conspicuous *élan*,[1] so that the few hundred yards of ground originally separating the two armies must have been covered at a rate to be measured hardly in minutes, but in seconds. Yet, upon the face of the account, the two Polemarchs and their men were set the task, not only of anticipating the enemy in reaching the threatened point, but of filling the vacancy exactly, and restoring the alignment and cohesion of the entire line, all within the last few moments preceding the actual collision. What miracle of manœuvring! Well might the unfortunate Polemarchs stand aghast at this outrageous demand. The orders of Agis couched in this form—and this, be it remembered, is the form in which, under the voucher of Thucydides, they have come down to us—must have seemed but the wild freak of a lunatic.

In reality, given Lacedaemonian troops, the tactical manoeuvre contemplated by Agis was not only feasible, but was well calculated to be eminently effective. Its true character emerges when we take into the account, not solely, or even principally, the Lacedaemonians, but that other factor, namely, the phalanx of the Confederates advancing at speed to the assault. Long before the gap in the Lacedaemonian line could be closed, by any means whatsoever, the Argeian *corps d'élite* was bound to have inserted itself therein like a wedge, driving the isolated left wing ever further apart from the centre. And this was what actually occurred. The Argeians thereby immediately found themselves in the very situation for which a Greek hoplite would ever pray—that is to say, with spear-arm free against the enemy's unshielded right flank. The unfortunate Skiritai and other units of the Lacedaemonian left wing, simultaneously held fast by the main body of Mantineians in their front, outflanked and enveloped on their left by the extreme overlapping files of the Mantineian right, and caught at a disadvantage on their right by the thousand picked Argeians who had swept into the gap, were soon ground to fragments and dispersed. Now if the two Polemarchs, *previously detailed for this special service*, carried out their instructions, bringing up their units smartly from the right, they would within a few minutes descend like a thunderbolt in their turn upon the flank and rear of the thousand Argeians while these were still busy with the *ci-devant* helot soldiers of the Lacedaemonian left.

[1] Thuc. 5. 70: *Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐντόνως καὶ ὀργῇ χωροῦντες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ βραδέως.*

Under so shrewd a blow the Thousand would find the tables turned upon them with a vengeance, and to a certainty would count no more for that day. This effective counterstroke it was the purpose of Agis to deliver by means of the units to be drawn from his right. He could rely to the fullest extent upon the mobility and tactical capacity of his troops, if their officers would but do their duty.

RECAPITULATION.

Drawing together our argument, let us review the whole course of the campaign and its concluding battle.

Having reached Tegea, Agis for the first time became aware that the Eleian contingent of three thousand men had withdrawn from Mantineian territory, leaving the rest of the Confederates in the lurch.[1] This news modified his original design, of awaiting the co-operation of his allies from central Greece. Three thousand hoplites withdrawn from the enemy's battle-line meant an advantage not to be neglected, if by any means the balance of the Confederate army could be induced to fight before the Eleians recovered from their ill-humour and returned to the theatre of operations. Fortune having thus at the outset offered Agis so much clear gain of time which he could turn to his advantage by bold initiative, it was not for him, in the interest of some cut-and-dried scheme, to reject her proffered favours, but to meet her half-way, and to aim at securing the fullest measure of success with as little delay as might be. The general political and military situation being such that a solution was impossible except through decisive victory in the field, it was clearly imposed upon the Spartan king, as his primary strategic aim, to force a battle under the conditions most favourable, tactically, to himself—that is to say, in the absence of the Eleians. He resolved, therefore, to cross the frontier at once, and to establish himself at an advanced post with the object of bringing the Confederates to action with the least possible delay.

The Lacedaemonians met with no resistance, but were allowed without challenge to pass through the Mýtika portal and enter Mantineian territory. No doubt ample warning of the inroad had been given to the Mantineians by their signallers stationed in the Skopé which gazed afar over the plain in all directions; it was no question of the

[1] Thuc. 5. 62: *καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἠλεῖοι ὀργισθέντες ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ Λέπρεον ἐψηφίσαντο ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἶκου.*

Lacedaemonians stealing a march upon an unprepared or unsuspecting enemy. Moreover, there was very good reason why the Mantineians should accept the invasion with equanimity. The time of year being late summer,[1] the principal crops must have been already reaped, and stock and stored provisions removed from outlying farmsteads to the shelter of the town or to the recesses of the plain behind it. Beyond the burning of the actual buildings, and the seizure of some trifling stores here and there, little havoc was to be wrought by the Lacedaemonian troops scouring the plain to the south of the city. The fact was that, from the point of view of these normal operations of Hellenic warfare, the invasion had been launched perforce at the wrong time of year—too late, and that by some weeks.

To the lead of Agis the Confederates countered, as we have seen, not, as he had hoped, by accepting battle in the plain, but by occupying a strong position on Alesion. This at once paralysed the flying parties of marauders—for there were the Athenian cavalry ready to swoop down upon them; the Lacedaemonian cavalry itself was little better than a laughing-stock—in the battle it plays no part at all. The Confederates thus signified clearly enough their intention of playing a waiting game; nor did it call for extraordinary sagacity to divine the calculations upon which this policy was based. Agis, to all seeming, was himself now fairly caught in a trap of his own baiting. His situation grew hourly more critical. Arrival of reinforcements for either side would almost to a certainty turn the scale. Abundantly clear also was it that the odds under this head were greatly in favour of the Confederates. There can be little doubt that messages had been sent in hot haste by the Confederates urging the Eleians to return to the theatre of operations, where the fate of the coalition was trembling in the balance. Agis seems, on his part also, to have appealed to his government for assistance, in view of the possible intervention of the Eleians. At all events, king Pleistoanax brought up the reserves of Sparta[2] a few hours before the battle which was the brilliant finale of the

[1] Cf. Thuc. 5. 75: *τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀφέντες (Κάρνεια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον ὄντα) τὴν ἑορτὴν ἦγον.* The festival was probably overdue. The harvest in this part of Arkadia was reaped a full month before the date of the battle.

[2] Thuc. 5. 75: *τῆς δὲ μάχης μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι καὶ Πλειστοάναξ ὁ ἕτερος βασιλεὺς ἔχων τούς τε πρεσβυτέρους καὶ νεωτέρους ἐβοήθησε, καὶ μέχρι μὲν Τεγέας ἀφίκετο, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν νίκην ἀνεχώρησεν.* Note that these *πρεσβύτεροι καὶ νεώτεροι* accompanied Agis when he first marched from Sparta, but were sent back from Orestheion (Thuc. 5. 64) for home defence.

war-game as played by his colleague. And, just too late to avert defeat, three thousand Eleian hoplites, as well as an additional thousand from Athens, reinforced the Confederates.[1] There can be no reasonable doubt that these reinforcements came in response to urgent representations on the part of the respective leaders.

The audacious manoeuvre, carried out with consummate precision and courage, by means of which Agis extricated his baggage-train and his army from the *cul-de-sac* of the Mantineian plain has received explanation in the foregoing pages. The feint attack pushed to within a hair's-breadth of irretrievable committal, with all the chances here in favour of the enemy, was designed furthermore to achieve what, upon the evidence of Thucydides himself, it actually did achieve. This secondary purpose was to inspire the Confederates with an illusory conviction that the Lacedaemonians had retreated because they had flinched at the last moment from pushing home their assault; so that the Confederates might cherish hopes of repeating under the walls of Mantineia the success which earlier in the year had been scored under the walls of Argos.

The Confederates this time walked straight into the trap set for them by Agis. Flushed with this second triumph over the supposed pusillanimity of the Spartan king, they threw up their policy of masterly inactivity, which within a few hours at longest would have given them, in all probability, the advantage in point of numbers, such advantage as might conceivably have more than compensated their technical inferiority, and inclined the scale of battle in their favour. The choice being again open to them, through the retirement of the Lacedaemonians beyond the frontier, they abandoned their secure position on the heights, and descended to the level ground—precisely as Agis desired. Here they were ready to accept battle, if Agis was still in the mood for it; if he would not fight, he must perforce return to Sparta with tacit admission of yet another strategic defeat; or he must be content to remain idle at Tegea, waiting for something to turn up to rescue him from the *impasse*. If he were in the end too strongly reinforced, the Confederates could yet not be caught napping; they could retire once more to Alesion, and the whole business would begin again *da capo*; and the approach of winter was entirely in their favour.

[1] Thuc. 5. 75: καὶ Ἠλείων τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν βοηθησάντων Μαντινεῦσιν ὕστερον τῆς μάχης καὶ Ἀθηναίων χιλίων πρὸς τοῖς προτέροις ἐστράτευσαν ἅπαντες οἱ ξύμμαχοι οὗτοι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Ἐπίδαυρον.

In connection with the battle which duly ensued, the significance of the disposition of his troops by Agis has already been explained. By the tactical device of a divergent objective for the advance of his line, the hostile array was itself dislocated, pulled asunder as it were by the inherent attraction of the breach on the Lacedaemonians' left, into which the Argeian *corps d'élite* plunged, to the complete dissolution of the cohesion which was the very life of a hoplite phalanx. True, the Lacedaemonian phalanx was itself also sundered into two portions; but there was all the difference in the world between the deliberate and calculated evolution by which the Skiritai and other units of the left wing were detached and sacrificed for a definite tactical purpose,[1] and the haphazard and purely opportunist disruption that here sealed the fate of the Confederate army.

We still come short of a complete and accurate conception of the tactical scheme of Agis if we imagine that the units of Hipponoïdas and Aristokles were intended to drop out of the line in the course of the general advance. That, indeed, is what is conveyed by Thucydides. According to his description of the affair, the order given to the two Polemarchs was simply the outcome of a frantic impulse on the part of Agis[2] to remedy matters when to his horror he realised that he had failed to make adequate allowance, or indeed any allowance at all, for the notorious tendency of an advancing phalanx to drift away to the right. In point of fact, Thucydides is altogether at fault in his conception, or his expression, of the actual procedure. The units of the two Polemarchs came duly into line with the rest of the army. By this means was secured the highly desirable development of the entire Lacedaemonian phalanx out away to the right as far as possible, with the object of ensuring that the Tegeans on the right should pass well outside of, or beyond, the Athenian wing as the lines approached each other in the charge. Moreover, by this means disclosure to the enemy of the king's tactical design with respect to the units of Aristokles and Hipponoïdas was deferred to the latest possible moment, when counter-measures on the part of the Confederates should be out of the question. When the signal for the charge was given, the rôle of the two Polemarchs and their units was to stand fast, the while the rest of

[1] The Spartans were notoriously prodigal of the blood of the Skiritai (cf. Xen. *Kyrop.* iv. 2. 1: *διὸ καὶ ἐχρῶντο αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀσσύριοι ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Σκιρίταις, οὐδὲν φειδόμενοι αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἐν πόνοις οὔτ' ἐν κινδύνοις*).

[2] Thuc. 5. 71: *δείσας δὲ Ἄγις μὴ σφῶν κυκλωθῇ τὸ εὐώνυμον, καὶ νομίσας ἄγαν περιέχειν τοὺς Μαντινέας.*

the army swept past them up the field—and then, when their front was clear, to march obliquely across the rear of the charging phalanx, towards the gap which they would see opening on their left front as the Skiritai and the other units of the left wing veered away leftwards, in accordance with instructions laid down for them before the action. The vacancy caused by the dropping out of the Polemarchs and their units from the right of the phalanx was bound to close up almost immediately—at all events, well before contact with the enemy—partly through the outwards thrust of the central units, partly through the inwards thrust of the Arkadian units on the right wing. For the objective of these last was, of course, by no means to continue their advance indefinitely beyond the end of the hostile line, but to swing inwards upon it as soon as ever the success of their own outflanking movement was established. To ensure the accurate carrying out of this business a handful of Lacedaemonian troops had been posted, as Thucydides tells us, to form the tip of the right wing.

In the event, as we know, the two Polemarchs failed to carry out their instructions. They persisted—whether of malice, or of mere incompetence, or through sheer excitement of battle is here immaterial—in retaining their original station in the line, and in advancing with it, in spite of the king's reiterated orders[1] recalling them to a sense of their special duty and prearranged function in the battle. This unlooked-for friction threw all out of gear ; with the result that the Lacedaemonian left was cut to pieces for want of the timely intervention of the Polemarchs, while, on the right, the bulk of the troops were to all intents and purposes idle. That the day did not end disastrously for the Lacedaemonians was due in part to the fortunate circumstance that the Argeian select corps failed to see and grasp its opportunity ; but not less to the cool courage with which Agis and the troops of the centre stuck to the business immediately in hand, of wiping out the enemy's centre, before turning to mend the situation on the left. Prejudice has, of course, not been slow to suggest that the Lacedaemonian hoplites were naturally too dull and stupid to appreciate the gravity of the peril into which the tactical collapse had brought them—that they were, in fact, not sufficiently intelligent to run. Fortunate the people whose soldiers exhibit this sort of stupidity and unruffled steadfastness.

[1] Thuc. 5. 71 : *ἐς δὲ τὸ διάκενον τοῦτο παρήγγελλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως δύο λόχους τῶν πολεμάρχων Ἱπποκράτη καὶ Ἀριστοκλεῖ ἔχουσι παρελθεῖν*—where note the tense, and compare above *τοῖς μὲν Σκιρίταις καὶ Βρασιδείοις ἐσήμηνεν*, and, in chap. 72, *κελεύσαντος αὐτόῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκιρίτας ὡς οὐ παρῆλθον οἱ λόχοι, πάλιν αὖ σφίσι προσμεῖξαι.*

CONCLUSION.

In the crisis of the Persian invasion the Agiad royal house of Sparta had given to Greece a tactician far in advance of his age, in the person of that Pausanias who commanded the national forces at Plataiai. At Plataiai, according to the stupid and malicious tradition which, until the other day, masqueraded in the garb of history,[1] the plans of Pausanias had been wrecked by the obstinacy and ill-timed punctilios of a subordinate. At this battle of Mantineia likewise, the tactics of one of the ablest kings of the Eurypontid line encountered in their turn an unexpected obstacle in the disobedience or incapacity of his officers. Beyond all question, both accounts have been deeply tinged by Athenian malice, which thus securely derided a pitch of technical accomplishment that neither Athens herself nor any other Greek state could pretend either to rival or to resist. The hostile tradition, however, is in the unfortunate position of proving far too much. For let prejudice and malice do their utmost, it could not be gainsaid that, as at Plataiai, so at Mantineia, the Lacedaemonians had been brilliantly victorious; whereas on both fields their armies, according to the logic of the story, should have been shattered to atoms through the failure of the higher command. Herodotos and Thucydides, the purveyors of this hostile but self-refuted tradition, must each in turn pay tribute of admiration to the superb fighting qualities of the Lacedaemonian rank and file. Our part here has been to do belated justice to their leader; one of those born leaders who, taking no counsel of their fears, but accepting with calm self-reliance risks that appal a mediocre mind, compel their astonished adversaries to acknowledge decisive and humiliating defeat. In the list of those talented commanders who contributed to the development of the art of war among the Greeks, a place, and that not the lowest, must be reserved for the name of king Agis of Sparta.

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[NOTE.—The above article presents in a summary way certain portions of a considerable work now for some years lying by me completed, dealing

[1] See article by the present writer, *The Greeks at Plataiai* (in *J.H.S.*, xviii. [1898], p. 33 f.), many of the conclusions of which have passed into the unacknowledged κοινὰ of the writers on Greek history.

with the campaign and battle of Mantineia as a Chapter in the History of the Art of War among the Greeks in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries. The book deals with, and perhaps solves, the many subsidiary problems which cluster round its main theme. As its publication must now be indefinitely deferred, it has seemed desirable to present in this form some of its main results.—W. J. W.]

THE ALLEGED KINGSHIP OF THE OLYMPIC VICTOR.[1]

ANTHROPOLOGY has been busy with the Olympic Games. The theories which I propose to discuss[2] have now been before the public for some years and, though they have not met with any general acceptance, there has not been, as far as I know, any critical examination of the evidence on which they are based, and there is a danger that they may be taken on trust. This is the reason for the publication of the following pages. They were intended to form part of a work on Olympia on which I have long been engaged, the issue of which has been delayed by present circumstances. Forming as they do part of a continuous work, I may be allowed to state briefly certain conclusions which I hope to establish later, some of which are assumed in the present article, though my argument is, in reality, independent of their correctness.

I. The history of Olympia and the North-west Peloponnese, as far as we can trace it, has always depended on the north and west and has been independent of the Aegean. Though the earliest inhabitants may possibly have been of the same stock as the Aegeans, they were always out of touch with the centre of that civilization and the land was, at a very early period, occupied by northern immigrants.

II. The worship of Zeus reached Olympia directly from Dodona and at an earlier date than it reached Crete. Hence the Cretan elements in the myth of Zeus do not belong to his earliest cult at Olympia.

III. There is no trace of any connexion between Olympia and Crete till the close of the eighth century B. C. when Cretan and Oriental influence appears at Sparta and elsewhere in the Peloponnese.

[1] This paper was read by the author at the Annual General Meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. A report of the discussion which followed will be found on p. xlvii of *J.H.S.* xxxviii. (1918).—[ED.]

[2] A. B. Cook, 'The European Sky God,' *Folk-Lore*, 1904; F. M. Cornford, in Miss Harrison's *Themis*, pp. 212 ff.; Sir James Frazer, *Golden Bough*[3], vol. iii. pp. 89 ff.

IV. The worship of Hera came to Olympia from Argos, at a later date than the worship of Zeus, probably at the close of the eighth century when the Heraion was built as a joint temple of Zeus and Hera.

I.

There are two principal theories of the origin of the Olympic Games. First there is the theory, which I tentatively adopted in my *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* and which has been recently brought into prominence by Professor Ridgeway in connexion with his theory of the worship of the dead—the theory that the Olympic Festival originated in funeral games held in honour of Pelops.[1]

It is a simple and attractive theory. Much of the criticism directed against it by Mr. Cornford[2] is beside the mark. When he speaks contemptuously of 'the naive theory which sees in these athletic contests no more than the survival of an expedient comparable to the whiskey drinking of an Irish wake for cheering up the mourners after the funeral of a chieftain,' or when he argues against the religious view of Professor Ridgeway that games were held at the tomb to please the spirit of the dead man, he is criticising theories of the origin of funeral games. Now, the origin of the custom is a much disputed question, and it is at least conceivable that it originated from different causes in different places and among different people. But the chief evidence for the funeral origin of the Olympic Games is not to be found in any theory of the origin of funeral games in general, but in the facts, the importance of which is fully recognised by Sir James Frazer, that funeral games are a very early and a very widespread custom, that they existed in Greece in, and before, the time of Homer, that they continued to exist in historical Greece, and that, in historical times, periodical games were founded in Greece in honour of the dead. These facts justify us in concluding that the early Achaeans and Dorians either brought the custom of funeral games with them when they came into Greece or found it there on their arrival. All speculations on the history of the games in a more remote period, if they existed then,

[1] *Greek Athletic Sports*, pp. 27 ff., cf. Körte in *Hermes*, 1904, pp. 224 ff.; Frazer, *Pausanias*, i. 44, 8; Ridgeway, *J.H.S.* 1911, p. xlvii.; *Origin of Greek Tragedy*, pp. 36, 38.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

are but empty vapourings of the imagination, incapable alike of proof or disproof, for evidence there is none.

Nor is there much force in Sir James Frazer's objection[1] that the funeral theory does not explain all the legends of the games. 'What,' he says, 'are we to make of the tradition that the foot-race was founded in order to determine the successor to the kingdom?' Or, the similar, though not identical, tradition, that the kingdom and the hand of the king's daughter were awarded as the prize to him who could vanquish the king in a chariot-race, while death was the penalty inflicted on the beaten charioteer? Such legends could hardly have been pure fictions: they probably reflect a real custom observed at Olympia.'

First a word of caution as to the general theory implied. One of the most important services rendered by modern anthropology has been to prove that many legends reflect ancient ritual or custom. But the origins of legends are manifold, and the assumption that any one explanation is true of all, or even of most, legends is a fallacy as dangerous as any of the theories that modern research has disproved.

With regard to the legends in question we may note that the two referred to are of very different character and worth. The legend of Pelops is certainly the oldest and most important legend connected with Olympia; that of Endymion bears every trace of being a late genealogical fiction. Moreover, there is no tradition that the foot-race of the sons of Endymion was ever regarded as the origin of the Olympic Games; all that Pausanias[2] states is that Endymion, whose real connexion with Olympia is very doubtful, set his three sons, who bear the suspicious names Paion, Epeios, Aitolos, to race for the prize of the throne. The king with his three sons, and the difficulty of determining the succession, are factors in many genealogical myths. It is, of course, possible that this legend, in spite of its artificial appearance, does reflect some ancient custom of an athletic contest for the throne. But it is at least equally possible, and to my mind far more probable, that the associations of Olympia suggested the athletic form in which the legend was expressed. Given Olympia for the scene, what could be more natural than to represent the contest for the throne as a foot-race?

As for the chariot-race of Pelops, there is no ancient authority for making it the prototype of the Olympic chariot-race, nor is it in reality a

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 103. [2] v. 1, 4.

chariot-race at all. The custom which it reflects is, as has been repeatedly shown, really a marriage custom, that of marriage by capture.[1] It is, moreover, a suspicious circumstance that both foot-race and chariot-race should be supposed to originate in a contest for the throne. Mr. Cornford has felt this difficulty and made a most ingenious, but unconvincing, attempt to harmonise the two legends.

Another objection raised by Sir James Frazer is that the funeral theory does not account for the four years' cycle; funeral games, he argues, would naturally be annual. This objection tells far more strongly against any theory that regards the Olympic Games as a vegetation festival. But it is not conclusive against the funeral theory. The idea that commemorative festivals must be annual is comparatively modern, and there is no reason why such a festival should not recur at periods fixed by any recognised cycle of time, or why an annual festival should not become quadrennial.

The real objection to the funeral theory is that it does not explain any of the peculiar customs of the Olympic festival and that the evidence for it is quite inadequate. Our earliest, almost our only authority, for the theory is a Delphic Oracle quoted by Phlegon.[2] It is quite beside the point to argue that the cult of Pelops at Olympia was of extreme antiquity, second only to that of Zeus, and that Pindar devotes a whole ode to his legend. This does not prove that the games were originally in his honour—Pindar indeed gives a very different story[3]—nor does it prove their funeral origin.

II.

The rival theory, strongly advocated by the Cambridge School of anthropologists, finds the origin of the Olympic Games in a ritual contest for the throne. This theory was propounded in its simplest form many years ago by Mr. A. B. Cook and has been since elaborated by Sir James Frazer and Mr. Cornford, the former of whom seeks to harmonise it with the funeral theory. Mr. Cook regards the Olympic victor in the chariot-race as the lineal descendant of the divine king, or weather magician, whose claim

[1] Cornford, *op. cit.* p. 219.

[2] *F.H.G.* p. 604; Cornford cites only Clement of Alexandria, *Protrep.* ii. 34, p. 29.

[3] *Ol.* xi., where, like Lysias and most Greek writers, he ascribes the founding of the games to Herakles after his defeat of Augeias.

to the kingdom was determined by a contest, and who had periodically to defend his title. Oinomaos, he argues, is just such a king, or magician, who claims to control the thunder, like Phorbas, or Salmoneus. His wife is Sterope, the lightning flash, and his palace is blasted by the thunder-bolt of Zeus. He is himself the living embodiment of the tree Zeus, or, as Mr. Cornford states it, the human prototype of which Zeus is a reflexion. Every four, perhaps every eight, years he defends his title against the suitors who claim his daughter's hand and his kingdom. Other reminiscences of this same contest are found in the legends of Endymion and of Zeus wrestling with Kronos. Mr. Cornford finds a further confirmation of the murderous character of the contest in a statement by Plutarch[1] that a single combat with arms to the death once formed part of the Olympic Games.

Now, though we may admit the possibility that the legend of Pelops, and perhaps the other legends, do reflect some ancient customs with regard to the succession to the throne, it does not by any means follow that the customs are connected with the origin of the Olympic Games, or that the latter developed, or, as Mr. Cornford would say, degenerated, from a contest for the kingdom. The only contest which is connected by tradition with the games is the foot-race of the Kouretes,[2] and there is reason to believe that this legend cannot possibly belong to primitive Olympia. Elsewhere tradition is silent. But, if it can be proved that the Olympic victor was treated, or regarded as a king, a good *prima facie* case is established for this theory of the games. This, then, is the point which these writers endeavour to establish; and, as the regal character of the victor is the corner stone of all their theories, it is necessary to examine their arguments carefully. If these arguments prove to be unsound, their whole theories break down.

The Olympic victor, we are told, received honours regal and divine.[3] The four-horse chariot in which he raced 'assimilated him to the Sun God'; the crown of sacred olive which decked his brow 'likened him to the great god Zeus himself whose glorious image at Olympia wore a similar wreath'; the spectators pelted the victor with flowers and fruit, 'like a tree spirit, or Jack-in-the-green'; hymns were sung and statues erected in his honour. He was feasted in the Prytaneion; on his return home a breach was made in the city walls, through which

[1] *Quaest. Symp.* v. 2, p. 675 c. [2] Paus. v. 7, 7. [3] *Themis*, p. 221.

he drove in a chariot drawn by white horses. After death he was, in many cases, worshipped as a hero, 'not because he was a successful athlete, but because he had once been an incarnate god.'

First we must strip these statements of the assumptions with which the writers' imagination has adorned them. The four-horse chariot, we are told, is the chariot of the sun; therefore the competitor in the chariot-race is assimilated to the Sun God. Pelops is represented by fifth-century artists as carrying off Hippodameia in a four-horse chariot; therefore Pelops is the sun and Hippodameia is the moon. In support of this argument Mr. Cornford actually quotes the statement of Eratosthenes that Erichthonios invented the four-horse chariot in imitation of the chariot of the sun.[1] Such a statement is an obvious inversion of facts. The four-horse chariot was not invented as a symbol of the sun, but it was selected as his vehicle as the fastest means of locomotion known at the time. Because the sun drove in such a chariot it does not follow that every four-horse chariot was symbolical of the sun, or that the chariot-race was invented in his honour. There were four-horse chariot-races at many places besides Olympia; was every competitor in a four-horse chariot assimilated to the Sun God? Further, this race had certainly no claim to be associated with the beginnings of Olympia, for, according to tradition, it was not introduced there till 680 B.C., and it is doubtful if it was known in Greece at a much earlier date. Previous to this, if chariot-races there were, and I believe myself that chariot-races were held at Olympia many centuries earlier, the chariots used must have been the old two-horse war-chariots of Homer, such as we see depicted on the Dipylon vases. Once introduced, the four-horse racing chariot quickly supplanted the simpler chariot, not because it was the chariot of the sun, but because it appealed to the vanity and pride of noble patrons of the turf.

Now let us pass on to the olive crown. This is one of the essential characteristics of the Olympic Games and may reasonably be regarded as belonging to their very beginning. Phlegon, indeed, records a tradition that the olive crown was not introduced till the seventh Olympiad, and Pausanias states that at Delphi the laurel wreath was first given in 582 B.C. On the other hand, Pindar ascribes the introduction

[1] *Themis*, p. 227. He proceeds to argue, from the statements of Cassidorus, Lydus, and Tertullian, that the Roman circus was associated with the heavenly bodies!

of the olive to Herakles,[1] and Bacchylides implies a like antiquity when he applies to it the epithet of Aetolian.[2] The practice of crowning the victor with sacred leaves has all the appearance of a piece of ancient popular magic, and there is no apparent motive for its introduction in historic times.

Assuming, then, the antiquity of the olive crown at Olympia, we must next ask what was its significance. The practice of wearing wreaths was widely prevalent in historic Greece and was certainly not confined to athletes, kings, or gods. In religious ceremonies they were worn by priests, worshippers and victims; they were frequently bestowed as signs of honour on those who distinguished themselves in the service of the state or in war; in private life they were worn at banquets and feasts. The origin of the practice is probably to be found in the belief in the magical power of certain plants or trees. Thus the wreath acted as a sort of amulet or charm for the protection of the wearer against evil influences. When the sacred tree from which it was cut was associated with some particular deity the wreath brought the wearer into connection with the god and put him under his special protection. This explanation is confirmed as regards Olympia by the fact that the boughs from which the crowns were made were cut from the sacred tree with a golden sickle by a boy whose parents were both living. This provision is explained by Sir James Frazer as due to the strong vitality which such a boy might be supposed to possess, a vitality which might help to render the charm more powerful and efficacious.[3]

If, then, the wreath of sacred leaves was regarded as a charm or amulet, it acted as a medium for transferring the divine power with which it was charged to the wearer, but it is difficult to see in what way it likened him to the god. Such practices go back to a stage of religion before a god was thought of as a personal being, long before he was represented as such, and when he was so represented, he did not himself wear the sacred wreath charged with his own power; he had no need to do so. The earliest statues of Zeus do not represent him olive-crowned, but helmeted with a thunder-bolt in his hand. It is far more probable that the artist borrowed the olive crown of Zeus from the Olympic victor than that the latter wore it in imitation of Zeus, or

[1] *Ol.* iii. 24. [2] vii. [3] Frazer, 'Adonis,' *G.B.* iv. p. 413.

was thereby likened to the god. For, as far as we can judge, the olive crown was worn by athletes long before it was worn by the god. Moreover, if the wearing of the olive crown rendered the wearer divine, we cannot refuse some portion of divinity to priests, victims, worshippers and all others who wore crowns of leaves sacred to some god.

But if neither chariot nor olive crown proves the Olympic victor to have been the living embodiment of the Sun-god, or Zeus, much less does the custom of pelting him with flowers and leaves (*φυλλοβολία*) prove him to have been the human representative of the tree spirit. He is pelted, we are told, like any Jack-in-the-green. Quite so. But are only Jacks-in-the-green so pelted? Because a man is pelted with flowers and leaves, it certainly does not follow that he is a Jack-in-the-green. Without further evidence we are no more justified in describing the Olympic victor as the embodiment of a tree spirit than we should be in describing a modern prima donna as the lineal descendant of a tree-nymph.

When we come to examine the evidence for the practice in Greece we find the following facts:[1] In the first place it was not the Olympic victor alone but any victorious athlete who was thus pelted. Not one of the passages in which Pindar alludes to the custom has any special reference to Olympia; most of them definitely refer to other games.[2] Certainly none of the vases on which it is represented has any necessary connection with Olympia. Therefore, if the Olympic victor was the embodiment of the tree spirit, so must every victor have been and all athletic festivals must have originated in the contest for a rustic kingship.

Secondly, the practice was not confined to victorious athletes. Pausanias tells us that when Aristomenes returned to Andania after his victory over the Spartans the women pelted him with fillets and the season's gifts (*τὰ ὡραῖα*).[3] Alexander received similar welcome when he reappeared after being healed of his wounds.[4] Even the dead were honoured in the same way; Euripides tells us in the *Hecuba*[5] how the Greeks vied with one another in showing honour to Polyxena, some scattering leaves upon her, some bearing pine logs to build up

[1] The evidence is collected in Krause, *Olympis*, p. 173, n. 39, and Casaubon on Suetonius, *Nero*, c. 25.

[2] *E.g. Pyth.* ix. 124; *Nem.* iv. 21.

[3] iv. 16, 6. [4] Arrian, vi. 13. [5] *Hec.* l. 574.

the pyre, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives a similar description of the funeral of Virginia.

Thirdly, the objects thrown are not only leaves and flowers, but fruit, fillets, even articles of dress. According to Plutarch, the athlete was pelted with roses and lychnis, apples and pomegranates.[1] Eratosthenes, in a passage quoted by a scholiast on the Hecuba, derives the *Phyllobolia* from the time when no prizes were given for the games, but the spectators showered on the victor such things as each had handy, 'and now,' he adds, 'in the case of distinguished competitors the people shower upon them belts, petala (perhaps thin plates of metal used as ornaments) cloaks, hats, shoes.'

Thus, as far as Greece is concerned, the pelted Jack-in-the-green is conspicuous by his absence, and there is not the slightest evidence that the person pelted with leaves or flowers was ever regarded as tree-spirit, king or god. The evidence rather seems to support the view of Eratosthenes and Plutarch that these objects were originally gifts. That the gifts were usually flowers and fruit is readily explained by the fact that many of the festivals at which sports were held were originally agricultural.

The custom of entertaining the victors at an official banquet in the Prytaneion is certainly no evidence of either royal or divine character. The Prytaneion with its altar of Hestia may be the historical survival of the palace of the ancient kings. But surely these kings were not debarred from entertaining honoured guests, and as such we may regard the victors in the games. If it could be shown that the victors had a right of dining in the Prytaneion at Olympia for a year or till the next festival, there might be some slight ground for regarding them as kings. Such a privilege was accorded at Athens and elsewhere to distinguished citizens, including those who had won victories at Olympia; but this can hardly be regarded as evidence that these men were looked upon as successors to the ancient kings of Athens, much less to those of Olympia. As it is, all that we know of the banquet of Olympia is contained in a single passage of Pausanias.[2] In the Prytaneion, he tells us, 'the Eleians have a banqueting hall and

[1] *Quaest. Symp.* viii. 4, 1, οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖτε δήπουθεν ὅτι καὶ ῥόδοις καὶ λυχνίσιν, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ μήλοις καὶ ῥοιαῖς ἔβαλλον ὡς καλοῖς γεραίροντες ἀεὶ τοὺς νικηφόρους.

[2] v. 15, 8.

here they feast the victors in the Olympia.' This feast is one of the three essential parts of a festival, and the last part. The hosts were the officials of Olympia, and if we must look for kingly survivals in the banquet we should look for them among the hosts rather than among the guests.

The remaining honours which are held to prove the kingly or divine character of the victor are the outcome of the exaggerated worship of athletics that began in the sixth century and produced its worst excesses in the rich cities of Sicily and Italy a century later. To the sixth century we may assign the practice of allowing the victor to commemorate his victory by a statue dedicated at Olympia, and to the same period belongs the custom of employing poets to write an *epinikion* to be sung either in the *komos* or revel, held on the evening of the victory, or in the celebrations that greeted the victor on his return home. The former practice survived till imperial times, but the last known writer of *epinikia* was Euripides. But neither statue nor hymn is any proof of royalty or divinity. These honours were not conferred by the Olympic authorities, but were optional privileges for which the victor's friends were allowed to pay and which the authorities doubtless encouraged them to provide in order to enhance the glory of the festival. Neither statue nor *epinikion* was peculiar to the Olympic victor. The earliest athletic statues were probably set up in the native cities of the victors, and at Olympia from the end of the fifth century the privilege of dedicating a statue was extended to many others besides fine athletes. Similarly the *epinikia* of Pindar and Bacchylides which we possess are not confined to victors at Olympia, or at the other Pan-hellenic festivals. Pindar's Second Pythian Ode celebrates the victory of Hieron at a Theban festival; the Ninth Nemean, a victory of Chromios at Sikyon, the Tenth Nemean, a victory at the Hekatombaia at Argos. The last ode of Bacchylides is connected with the Thessalian Petraia. We arrive, then, at the same conclusion that we reached in discussing the *Phyllobolia*, that if this theory holds good of the Olympic victor, it holds good of all other athletic victors and that these 'divine' or 'regal' honours were scattered broadcast over Greece.

Next we come to the honours paid to the victor on his return to his native city. Tracing them historically we find that these honours tended to become more and more extravagant with the

decline of sport and the growth of luxury, and that the honours that are supposed to be specially symbolical of royalty belong almost entirely to Imperial times. We know that in Pindar's time the home-coming of a victor was an occasion of public rejoicing. Many of his odes were intended to be sung in the procession which escorted the victor to the chief temple of his city, there to dedicate his crown to the god or hero to whom he owed his success. These celebrations were particularly magnificent in Sicily. Thus Diodorus Siculus [1] describes the festivities in honour of Exainetos, twice winner in the foot-race (B.C. 416, 412). He entered the city in a four-horse chariot, attended by three hundred chariots drawn by pairs of white horses. But such magnificence was evidently exceptional and does not prove that the victor habitually entered the city in a chariot, or that he had any right to do so. Agrigentum was famous for its horses and chariots, and in any public procession these naturally figured, as they did at the Athenian Panathenaia. Indeed, the incident is mentioned by Diodorus merely as an illustration of the luxury and extravagance prevailing in Sicily. Doubtless these extravagances were imitated elsewhere and such a precedent could hardly escape the notice of Nero, who entered Rome in the triumphal chariot once used by Augustus.[2] But the only evidence that the practice was general is the statement of Vitruvius that the victors in the sacred games, not only in the Olympic, were accustomed to make their entry in a four-horse chariot, a statement which, even if true of his own time, which is more than doubtful, certainly proves nothing as to the practices of a simpler and saner age. It is in the accounts given by Suetonius and Dio Cassius of the triumphal entry of Nero into Rome after his notorious tour in Greece, in the course of which he violated every tradition of Greek sport, that we first find mention of the purple robe and the breach in the city wall. Nero made his entry clothed in a gold-spangled purple robe. The Emperor had other claims for wearing the purple than those of the sacred victor, yet his example is the only evidence of the statement that the Olympic victor was robed in royal purple. For the breach in the city walls the evidence is slightly stronger. Suetonius adds that it was the custom of *Hieronikai.* Dio, more guardedly, says that Nero was informed by certain persons

[1] xiii. 82. [2] Suetonius, *Nero*, c. 25.

that such was the custom. Still later, Plutarch, arguing for the military origin of athletics, mentions vaguely that victors were allowed to pull down a portion of the walls and offers as an explanation of the practice, that cities who had men able to fight and conquer had no need of walls.[1] Now, that such extravagances may have been perpetrated in and before the time of Nero is quite possible; that, under the Empire, they may have been frequently perpetrated will not seem improbable to anyone who has studied the bombastic athletic records of this period. But there is not the slightest proof that they reflect the general practice of Greece in the days of its liberty. Had they done so, it is most unlikely that all record of them should have disappeared and that so obvious a point should have escaped the notice of writers who, like Xenophanes and Euripides, inveighed against the hero-worship of the athlete, especially as the evidence adduced refers the custom, not to Olympic winners only, but to all winners in sacred games. We conclude, therefore, that the statement that the Olympic victor entered the city clothed in purple, riding in a four-horse chariot drawn by white horses through a breach in the city wall, is a hasty and inaccurate generalisation, based on insufficient evidence, and that no argument can be drawn from it as to the traditional royalty of the Olympic victor.

Again, we are told that the Olympic victor was, in many cases, worshipped after death as a hero, 'not because he was a successful athlete, but because he had once been an incarnate god.' Out of some eight hundred Olympic victors known to us, only five, as far as I can find, were thus canonised; and in these five cases it is at least doubtful if their canonisation had anything to do with an Olympic victory. First on the list is Philippos of Kroton.[2] He accompanied Dorieus to Sicily and fell in battle against the Egesteans, who raised a hero temple over his grave and worshipped him, not, according to Herodotus, on account of his athletic success, but for his personal beauty. Our next hero, Kleomedes of Astypalaia,[3] had the misfortune to be disqualified at Olympia for killing his opponent and went mad with disappointment. Returning home he entered a school where some sixty pupils were assembled, and, like Samson, pulled down the pillar on which the roof rested and killed them all, after which he took refuge from the wrath of the people in a temple and hid

[1] *Quaest. Symp.* ii. 5, 2. [2] Hdt. v. 47. [3] Paus. vi. 9, 6.

himself in a chest. When the chest was opened he was not to be found, and the people, in alarm, consulted the Oracle of Delphi, who told them to worship him as the last of the Heroes. The Delphic Oracle was also responsible for the canonisation of Theagenes of Thasos[1] who was likewise punished at Olympia for breaking the rules. One of his enemies, says Pausanias, used to show his ill-feeling by beating his statue at Thasos, till one day the statue fell upon him and killed him. The statue was punished by being cast into the sea, whereupon Thasos was visited by a failure of all the crops. The Delphic Oracle having told the Thasians to recover the statue and worship Theagenes, the statue was miraculously fished up by a fisherman and restored to its pedestal. This statue, in Lucian's[2] time, was credited with being able to cure fevers, as was the statue at Olympia of another famous athlete, Polydamas of Skotussa. But Lucian seems to imply, in both cases, that the miraculous virtue was of recent growth. Lastly, the famous opponent of Theagenes, Euthymos of Lokroi Epizephyrioi,[3] was said to have been worshipped in his lifetime, 'on the advice of an oracle,' says Pliny, who finds such impious presumption hard to believe. Such is the evidence for the hero-worship of victors. All five examples belong to the fifth century, which was characterised by a strong revival of the worship of the dead. The only case where the evidence is at all contemporary is that of Philippos who owed the honour to his beauty and, perhaps, to the manner of his death. Both Theagenes and Kleomedes incurred disgrace at Olympia and both are connected with an uncanny tale of death and pollution. Of Euthymos, too, it is related that his statues at Lokroi and at Olympia were struck by lightning in one day. Of the circumstance connected with the worship of Polydamas we know nothing. He and Euthymos and Theagenes were famous athletes around whom gathered all sorts of miraculous tales; they may have been worshipped as heroes because they were successful athletes, just as others were worshipped for their prowess in war, but of not one of them are we justified in saying he was worshipped because he had won a victory at Olympia and had thereby become an incarnate god.

Thus, the only evidence of any real value, the evidence of Olympic custom, completely fails to prove the royalty or the divinity of the victor,

[1] *Paus.* vi. 11. [2] *Deorum Concilium*, c. 12. [3] Pliny, *H.N.* vii. 47.

and the theory is found to rest on that most unstable of all foundations—the arbitrary interpretation of certain myths. If, however, the victor cannot be shown to have any claim to kingship, there is no lack of other claimants. Both Elis and Pisatis were governed by kings till the middle of the sixth century. Again, an early Olympic inscription[1] mentions certain Elean officials called *βασιλᾶες*, who seem to have formed a college with a President *ὄρ μέγιστον τέλος ἔχοι*. Further, the priests who offered sacrifice on Mount Kronos at the spring equinox bore the title *βασίλαι*[2]; of these, however, we know nothing. Far more important are the Hellanodikai, the chief magistrates of the festival, who presided over the games, clothed in purple, and doubtless presided at the banquet in the Prytaneion, and one of whom, the Eleian representative, is called by Pindar 'the Aetolian' as the successor of the Aetolian Oxylos and Iphitos.[3] If, as I believe,[4] there were two Hellanodikai, possibly from the time of Iphitos, representing respectively Elis and Pisatis, the Aetolian immigrants and the pre-Dorian inhabitants, this dual control is a close parallel to the dual monarchy of Sparta, which according to the late Guy Dickins also dates from about 800 B.C.

III.

The assumption that the Olympic games originated in the contest for the throne underlies both Sir James Frazer's and Mr. Cornford's theories, and it is, therefore, unnecessary to examine in detail the further assumptions involved in these, especially as the evidence is in most cases still more shadowy. Both these writers rightly emphasise the importance of the eight-year cycle by which the Olympic festivals were regulated. Sir James Frazer finds in this cycle a means of reconciling the funeral theory and the kingly theory. The kingdom of Pisa, he suggests, like that of Sparta, was held by an octennial tenure, and every eight years the King had to defend his claim against any candidate for his daughter's hand and the throne. Thus the games are connected not with the tomb of an individual Pelops, but with the tombs of those who failed in the contest. The eight-year cycle was an attempt to co-ordinate solar and lunar time, ninety-nine lunar months being approximately eight solar years, and it is not improbable that the Olympic festival was originally held, not once in four years but once in eight. Therefore, he infers, the festival was first associated

[1] *Ol. Ins.* 2. [2] Paus. vi. 2, n. 1. [3] *Ol.* iii. 12. [4] *Greek Athletic Sports*, p. 46.

with the mythical marriage of the sun and moon, and this mythical marriage was dramatically represented, the victor in the men's race taking the part of Zeus, or the Sun-God, the victor in the girls' foot-race at the Heraia the part of Hera, or the Moon-Goddess.

All this is, of course, mere speculation and Sir James admits as much. If there is no sufficient ground for regarding the Olympic victor as king, much less is there for regarding the girl victor in the Heraia as queen. There is not a tittle of evidence that Zeus and Hera were ever worshipped at Olympia as sun-god and moon-goddess, that a sacred marriage ever formed part of the Olympic ritual or that there was any connexion between the Olympia and the Heraia, beyond that of locality. Of the Heraia we know practically nothing; we do not know at what period of the year the festival was held, or even whether it fell in the same year as the Olympia, in spite of Weniger's ingenious speculations,[1] but we do know that married women were excluded from the Olympic festival and this fact alone renders it highly improbable that the central rite of the festival was a sacred marriage.

One point only in the theory requires closer examination—the suggestion that in many parts of Greece, particularly at Sparta and in Crete, the kingship was originally held upon an eight year tenure. Unfortunately for the theory, the evidence both for Sparta and Crete is far from satisfactory.

We will take Sparta first. We learn from Plutarch[2] that it was the custom for the Ephors every eighth year to select a clear and starlight night when there was no moon, and in silence to watch the heavens. If a star happened to shoot across the heavens, they pronounced the kings guilty of some offence against the gods and suspended them from office till they were re-established by an oracle from Delphi or Olympia. From this custom it is inferred that the Spartan kings originally occupied the throne only for a period of eight years. If it were established that this octennial kingship prevailed elsewhere in early Greece, there would be good ground for such an inference. But the very reverse is the case; the octennial kingship is unknown to Homer; the Homeric kings held the sceptre till they died and handed it down to their successors. Further, we know for certain that the power of these Homeric kings was, in most parts of Greece, gradually restricted. At Athens, for example, the hereditary kings were replaced, first

[1] *Klio*, 1905. [2] *Agis*, 11; *Golden Bough*[3], iii. 58.

by life archons, then by archons who ruled for ten years. At Sparta the power of the king was limited more and more by that of the Ephor.[1] It is, therefore, at least equally probable that the custom described by Plutarch was devised at a comparatively late date as a means of curtailing the rule of an unpopular king under cover of religion.

Let us turn to Crete. Minos, says Plato,[2] was accustomed every eight years to retire to a cave on Mt. Ida and there to consult with Zeus about the art of government. Clearly, then, Minos was an octennial king, who had to renew his royal powers every eighth year. But when we look closer we find that this story has in reality no independent value; it is merely Plato's explanation of a line in the Odyssey that sorely puzzled him and his contemporaries, the line in which it is said that Minos

ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής.

Others gave a different explanation of the line. 'Minos was nine seasons old when he began to reign.'[3] Reference to other passages where the epithet ἐννέωρος occurs does not simplify matters.[4] It is used of an ox, of swine, of the ointment used to dress the wounds of Patroklos; lastly, of those infant prodigies Otos and Ephialtes, 'nine seasons old, nine cubits in breadth, nine fathoms in height.' In the last instance the word has obviously its literal sense. In the other cases it can denote little more than 'fully developed' or 'mature.' In what sense is it used of Minos? Even if we could be certain that it was used literally, there remains the uncertainty due to the ambiguity of the expression 'nine seasons' as used by the Greeks. It may denote nine completed seasons, or a period ending with the beginning of the ninth season. Only in the latter case can it have any connection with an eight years' cycle. Nine days, ἐννῆμαρ, in Homer's description of the shipwreck of Odysseus, means nine days, not eight, for they are followed by the tenth day.[5] Otos and Ephialtes were clearly thought of as nine seasons old, not eight, just as they were nine cubits broad, nine fathoms high. The fact is that nine

[1] For the gradual growth of the power of the Ephors, *v.* Guy Dickins, *J.H.S.* 1912, pp. 11 ff.

[2] *Minos*, 319; *Leg.* 624 A, B; Homer, *Odyssey*, xix. 178.

[3] Schol. Homer, *loc. cit.*: οἱ μὲν ὅτι διὰ ἐννέα ἐτῶν συνὼν Διὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐμάνθανεν ἅτινα εἴη δίκαια οἱ δὲ ὅτι ἐννατὴς ὢν βασιλεύειν ἤρξατο. Schol. *Minos*, *loc. cit.*: ἤγουν ἀπὸ ἐννέα ἐτῶν ἄρξας ἢ ἐννέα ἔτη βασιλεύων. Note that the latter scholiast takes the word to mean 'nine full years.'

[4] The word is fully discussed by Merry, *Od.* x. 19. Cp. *Od.* x. 390, xi. 311; *Il.* xviii. 351.

[5] *Od.* vii. 253. ἐννῆμαρ φερόμην· δεκάτῃ δ' ἐμε νυκτὶ κ.τ.λ.

is as typical a number in Homer as seven is in the Hebrew Scriptures, and no valid inference can be drawn from its use, unless we are prepared to assert that the predominance of this number is derived from a nine, or eight, years' cycle.

I submit, then, that the evidence does not justify the statement that either at Sparta or in Crete the kingdom was held on octennial tenure, much less that such a tenure was common in Greece. Herewith falls to the ground another argument for the kingship of the Olympic victors.

Mr. Cornford's view is still more ingenious. While accepting Sir James Frazer's view of the sacred marriage as symbolizing the union of sun and moon in the eight years' cycle, he regards this cycle, not as the origin of the games, but as the last stage in their evolution. It was preceded by a lunar calendar and the worship of the moon-goddess, Hera; and this, in its turn, by an agricultural calendar of the seasons, associated with the worship of the earth-mother. To the latter belong certain Kronian festivals, a winter festival of the new year and a spring festival at the time of the spring equinox. At the winter festival there was a contest between the old and the new year, one of the elements contained in the myth of Pelops.[1] The central rite of the spring festival was an initiation ceremony. The Kouretes raced to decide who was to be the greatest Kouros or Basileus of the year, the daimon of the year on whom the fertility of the land depended. This race was but the preliminary to the procession, in which the victor, crowned at first with an apple branch,[2] afterwards with the olive wreath, borrowed from the earth-goddess or moon-spirit, led the song of triumph and offered a sacrifice. This was the origin of the victor's *komos*, which thus proves to be the kernel of the Olympic festival. In the next stage, that of the lunar calendar, a race of maidens took place to determine who was to be the moon-maiden. And from the moon-maiden gradually arose the personality of Hera. This race was, of course, an

[1] Perhaps the most amazing of all Mr. Cornford's suggestions is that the feast of Tantalos reflects the ceremony performed on the hill of Kronos. There is not the least excuse for connecting Tantalos with Olympia. To do so is to disregard the universal tradition of the Greeks which regarded Pelops as an immigrant at Olympia. Mr. Cornford's only argument is that Pindar refers to this legend in his first *Olympian Ode*, which proves absolutely nothing, especially as Pindar refers to the legend merely to reject it.

[2] This suggestion is derived from the Delphic oracle quoted by Phlegon to which I have already referred. Such oracles are of very uncertain date and value, and we cannot attach much importance to them. The apple belonged to Delphi, but there is no other evidence for connecting it with Olympia.

annual contest, and presumably took place in the month of Parthenios, which Mr. Cornford, following Weniger, regards as the month of Hera. Lastly, with the eight years' cycle we have the marriage of the sun and moon, at first perhaps solemnized every year, afterwards every eight or every four years. The reorganization of the festival is associated with the legend of Pelops and Hippodameia, and the carrying off of the bride in a chariot was the precursor of the chariot-race. This reorganised festival took place in August or September, and in it were incorporated the earlier Kronian contests of winter and spring, the fight for the throne, and the foot-race of the Kouretes. Thus all the legendary contests of Olympia are happily harmonised.

It would require a whole volume adequately to discuss the various assumptions made in this most amazing theory. There is hardly a proposition in Mr. Cornford's whole argument for which any sound argument can be adduced. So far as he agrees with Mr. Cook and Sir James Frazer we have already examined the evidence and found it wanting. For his reconstruction of the still earlier history of Olympia the evidence is still more shadowy. It depends on what I believe to be entirely erroneous conceptions. After a careful study of the literary and archaeological evidence I am convinced that there is no ground for the belief, common in Germany, that the worship of Hera preceded that of Zeus, and no proof of any early connection between Olympia and Crete.[1] Finally, Mr. Cornford absolutely fails to explain how a late summer festival could take over the rites of a supposed winter festival and of a spring festival which continued to exist in historical times.

IV.

Students of religion are apt to exaggerate the importance of the religious motive to the neglect of equally important secular motives. The writers whose views we have been discussing fail to take account of the universal instincts of human, and indeed of animal, nature, the love of play and the love of fighting. It is to these instincts that the love of sport and athletics is due. The form which the love of sport took among the Greeks

[1] *v.* Curtius, in *Olympia*, i. p. 16, and Weniger, *loc. cit.* Curtius's reconstruction of the early history of Olympia appears to me entirely arbitrary and unsound. It was written, of course, before the excavations in Crete and at Sparta.

was determined by the military character of their early society, as we find it depicted in Homer; and it was afterwards reinforced by their intense love of physical beauty. Now it is true, of course, that many of the games played by children and others are survivals of customs and ceremonies which once had a serious, often religious, import for grown-up men. But athletic sports are not games, and it has never been proved that any of the athletic sports of the Greeks had such an origin. The Greeks, it is true, had certain ritual races, such as the Lampadephoria and Staphylodromia, and these races always maintained their ritual character. But there is not the slightest evidence that the foot-race degenerated, or developed from such a ritual race; it is far truer to say that the ritual ceremony took the form of the foot-race in consequence of the athletic character of the people than that athletic sports originated in ritual, just as the fifth century artist represented the exploits of Theseus and Herakles as athletic contests, not because, as the authorities said, Theseus and Herakles were the inventors of athletics, but because the artist naturally connected bodily strength and skill with athletic success.

Another tendency of these writers is to disregard the evidence of archaeology and of Homer as to the state of civilisation existing in pre-historic Greece and to speak of the men of those times as though they were little better than savages. With the Aegaean civilisation we are not here concerned; partly because the sports of Minoan Crete have little or no connexion with those of historical Greece, partly because this civilisation had no influence on Olympia. But the sports of the Homeric Achaeans are the sports of the later Greeks, and we can hardly doubt that they were brought by them from their northern homes. Whatever the date of the Homeric poems, we may safely assume that the civilisation which they describe belongs to a period earlier than 1000 B.C.; and the Achaeans, or their kin, can hardly have come into Greece much before 1500 B.C. There is a growing consensus of opinion that the civilisation of these northern immigrants was in many respects, and especially in religion, far more highly developed than it was formerly considered to be.[1]

Now we find in Homer that athletic sports are already fully developed and are absolutely secular. The events themselves are essentially practical and military, the natural recreations of a people whose chief business is

[1] Warde Fowler, *Religious Experiences*, p. 392; Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, p. 8.

fighting. But they are no mere military exercises; they have already become true sports, and are conducted as such under special conditions. For example, the boxer binds his hands with boxing thongs; and, though the chariot used is the war chariot, the warrior drives himself and does not merely stand beside the charioteer, as did the Apobates in a race which survived at Athens. Such practices imply a long tradition of sport, but there is no trace in Homer of any ritual race, of any contest for the kingship, of any connexion between sports and religion, or of any athletic festivals. Games are held and prizes are offered at the funerals of great chieftains, but there is no sign that these games had any religious significance, or were intended to appease the spirit of the departed. The funeral of a chieftain was an occasion when all the neighbouring chieftains gathered together to do honour to him or to his successors. These chieftains had to be suitably entertained, and what more natural form of entertainment could a sport-loving folk devise than sports and chariot-races, where every competitor received rich presents from his host? Just in the same way, when Odysseus visited the Phaeacians, *impromptu* games were got up in his honour. Judging the Homeric evidence as a whole, we should say that any peaceful gathering of men was sufficient pretext for races and sports, and that the reason why such competitions were chiefly connected with funerals was that these were the principal occasions when large numbers of chieftains met together peaceably. Had there been religious festivals that drew together the neighbouring clans, we should probably have heard of games being held there. But in Homer we hear of no such festivals, though it does not follow that they did not exist.

Passing on to historical Greece, we find that athletic competitions are almost invariably associated with religious festivals. There are occasional exceptions, such as the games which the remnant of the Ten Thousand held when resting after their labours at Trapezos; and perhaps such isolated games were not infrequent. But the regular games, held at fixed periods, always took place at festivals; and indeed it could hardly be otherwise, since these were the only fixed points in the Calendar. But this does not prove that the sports themselves originated in religious festivals, any more than the Homeric evidence proves that they originated in funeral ceremonies. For it is not only athletic competitions, but all competitions, military, musical, dramatic, literary, that are connected with

festivals, and it is ridiculous to suppose that all these competitions arose out of the ritual of the festival at which they took place. The reason why they took place at festivals was simply that festivals were times of holiday and peace, when a whole city or a whole neighbourhood could meet together in friendly union. Indeed, we may almost say that no such peaceful gathering was possible except under the auspices of religion. The festivals themselves were of divers characters, and instituted at divers dates; in some cases, of course, a competition, athletic or otherwise, may have been employed to determine who should light the fire on the altar, or perform some other act of ritual, but the use of athletic competitions in ritual is due to the prevalence of athletics in ordinary life, and does not affect the general conclusion that Greek athletics were, in their origin, purely secular, and that their association with religion arose merely from the circumstances of Greek life. Sometimes athletic competitions were added to an ancient festival: thus, at Delphi the original competition was musical, and the introduction of sports was due to the athleticism of the sixth century. Similarly, when a new festival was instituted, whether funeral or otherwise, sports usually formed part of it. Indeed, so closely was religion bound up with all Greek life that, if games were to be instituted, religious rites were necessarily instituted at the same time.

The view which I have urged finds some support in the history of the word *ἀγών*.[1] In Homer it denotes a place of assembly, or an assembly; it acquired its later meaning of a contest, especially an athletic contest, from the fact that any peaceful assembly was, to the Greeks, a natural opportunity for these competitions in which they delighted.

We must, of course, admit the possibility that a ritual race or contest might have developed into a purely athletic competition. But no such case has ever been established in Greece. In the case of Olympia we have found that nearly all the arguments used to prove the religious origin of the games are equally applicable to the other great games, or even to games generally. The arguments peculiar to Olympia are those derived from myths, and their interpretation is too uncertain to establish any such conclusion. We conclude, therefore, that there is no ground for treating the origin of the Olympic Games as exceptional. The prestige of the games was due to a variety of

[1] *v.* Dyer, *J.H.S.* xxviii. p. 268.

causes, geographical, political, religious—not to the original significance of the games themselves. Whether they go back to the very beginnings of the festival, or were a later addition, and, in the latter case, when they were added, we cannot say. All that we know is that the Greeks themselves attributed them to a remote antiquity. As to the origin and character of the festival itself, the only evidence is to be found in the actual customs of the festival, particularly the time of the year when it was held, the four years' cycle, the olive crown, the sacred truce, the exclusion of women. At the best our conclusions can only be conjectural.

E. NORMAN GARDINER.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER WRITTEN BY LORD BYRON FROM ATHENS.[1]

(PLATES III., IV.)

ATHENS, *January 20th*, 1811.

MY DEAR HODGSON,

In most of your letters, that is to say two, the only ones I have received of yours, you complain of my silence. This complaint I presume to be removed by this time, as I have written frequently, but more particularly by H. who is of course long ago landed, and will amply gratify any further curiosity you may have beyond the limits of a letter. I also wrote by the *Black John*, which however was taken off Algiers with the Capt. Moses Kennedy and several bags of long letters, but especially Hobhouse's intimates have to regret the capture of some enormous packets, which cost him a world of pains at Constantinople, in the Troad and elsewhere, as I can witness, and unless the French Government publish them, I am afraid we have little chance of recovering these inestimable manuscripts. But then to make amends he himself followed close on the heels of his letters (by the bye I fear *heels* of letters is a very incorrect metaphor) and will tell the world all how and about it, unless he also has been boarded and taken off Algiers. Talking of taking, I was nearly taken myself six weeks ago by some Mainote pirates (Lacedemonians and be damned to them) at Cape Colonna, but being well armed, and attended, the varlets were afraid, or they might have bagged us all with a little skirmishing. I am still in Athens making little tours to

[1] This letter is now the property of the School, having been purchased with part of a generous gift made by Mr. Basil Pandelis. It is at present deposited in the Victoria and Albert Museum, but later on will be placed in the Finlay Library at the School Hostel in Athens. [ED.]

Marathon, Sunium, the top of Hymettus, and the Morea occasionally to diversify the season. My Grand Giro finished with Constantinople and I shall not (I think) go further Eastward, but I am sure of nothing so little as my own intentions, and if I receive cash and comfortable news from home I shant trouble your foggy Island for amusement. I am studying modern Greek with a Master, and my current tongue is Levant Italian, which I gabble perforce. My late dragoman spoke bad Latin, but having dismissed him, I am left to my resources which consist in tolerably fluent Lingua Franca, middling Romaic (modern Greek) and some variety of Ottoman oaths of great service with a stumbling horse, or a stupid servant. I lately sent to England my only remaining Englishman with some papers about money matters, and am left d'ye see all by myself in these outlandish parts, and I don't find it *never* the *worser* for friends and servants, that is to say fellow countrymen in those capacities, are troublesome fellow travellers. I have a variety of acquaintance, French, Danes, German, Greek, Italian and Turkish, and have contracted an alliance with Dr. Bronstedt of Copenhagen, a pretty philosopher as you'd wish to see. Besides I am on good terms with some of my countrymen here, Messrs. Grahame and Haygarth, and I have in pay a Bavarian Baron named "Lynch" (pronounce it *Lynk*) who limns landscapes for the lucre of gain. Here also are Messrs. Fiott, Cockerell and Forster all of whom I know, and they are all vastly amiable and accomplished. I am living in the Capuchin Convent, Hymettus before me, the Acropolis behind, the temple of Jove to my right, the Stadium in front, the town to the left, eh, Sir, there's a situation, there's your picturesque! nothing like that, Sir, in Lunnun, no not even the Mansion House. And I feed upon Woodcocks and red Mullet every day, and I have three horses (one a present from the Pasha of the Morea) and I ride to Piraeus, and Phalerum, and Munychia, which however dont look quite so magnificent after the harbours of Cadiz, Lisbon, Constantinople and Gibraltar, not forgetting Malta. I wish to be sure I had a few books, one's own works for instance, any damned nonsense on a long Evening. I had a straggling number of the *E. Review* given me by a compassionate Capt. of a frigate lately, it contains the reply to the Oxonian pamphlet, on the Strabonic controversy, the reviewer seems to be in a perilous passion and heaves out a deal of Slack-jaw as the Sailors call it. You have to direct to Malta, whence my letters are or ought to be forwarded. In two days I shall be twenty three, and on the

2[d] above a year and a half out of England. I suppose you and Drury sometimes drink one's health on a speech day, and I trust we shall meet merrily, and make a tour some summer to Wales or Scotland, it will be a great relaxation to me jaunting once more in a Chay. I need not write at length as Hobby is brimful of remarks, and it would be cruel to curtail him of a syllable. Tell him I have written to him frequently, as indeed I have to yourself and also to Drury and others, but this is a plaguey distance for a " Single Sheet."

Yours alway

BYRON.

HASTINGS AND FINLAY.

I FEEL[1] that first of all I owe you a word of explanation why I, who have never studied the history of the Greek War of Independence, should have ventured to speak to you to-day about two of the best known of the Britons who then offered their services to Greece against the Turks. Finlay was an intimate friend and the executor of Hastings, and had in his possession much of his friend's correspondence and other papers. Consequently, when many years after Finlay's death, his library was presented to the British School, among his private papers, manuscripts and journals were found those of Hastings as well. I have therefore drawn largely on this still unpublished material to illustrate the lives and careers of these two British Philhellenes.

I.—HASTINGS.

Frank Abney Hastings was born in 1794, the second son of General Sir Charles Hastings, a distinguished man of good family and considerable fortune. Frank Hastings entered the British Navy when only eleven years old, and six months after he became a midshipman was present at the Battle of Trafalgar on board the *Neptune*. An explosion of powder which occurred on the ship during the action caused Hastings' attention to be directed to the study of artillery and gunnery, and while in the British Navy he saw service in almost all parts of the world. But after about fifteen years of service, when he had risen to the rank of commander and had made a name for himself by his devotion to the Navy and his studies in artillery, an unfortunate incident at Jamaica which reflected no discredit on Hastings at all, caused the Admiralty to remove his name from the list of officers of His Majesty's Navy. This

[1] This paper is the substance of a lecture delivered before the Athens Branch of the Anglo-Hellenic League on February 23rd, 1918.

was a very serious blow, because he was very deeply attached to his profession; but all his father's influence proved unavailing to induce the Admiralty to reconsider their decision. This occurred in 1819, and Hastings seems at once to have resolved to enter into foreign service, to judge by a letter written to him on October 1st, 1819, by Lord Melville, then First Lord of the Admiralty, in answer to some queries of his about foreign service. He accordingly went to France, where he acquired a very good knowledge of French, and also continued his study of gunnery,[1] hoping that before long he might find some opportunity of putting into practice several new ideas regarding naval warfare, which he had so long studied. This opportunity came with the breaking out of the War of Greek Independence, when Hastings, who was strongly attracted by the cause of freedom, resolved to offer his services to the Greek Government. He hoped he might be of use in helping them to organise their navy, and with this object he provided himself with sights, locks and other devices to assist in improving the Greek gunnery. On March 12th, 1822, he left Marseilles in company with the American, George Jarvis, on board the Swedish vessel *Trontheim*, and arrived at Hydra on April 3rd. They were received and welcomed by the brothers Iakomakes and Manoles Tombazes, to whom Jarvis had a letter of introduction. As the Greek Fleet was just about going on a cruise, Hastings was extremely anxious to go with them on Tombazes' ship *Themistocles*, but before he could do so he had to obtain authorisation from the Greek Government, then at Corinth. He immediately set out on April 19th for Corinth to see Mavrocordatos, who was then head of the Government. Unfortunately, owing to the hostile attitude which had been adopted by the British Government in the Ionian Islands, then ruled by Sir Thomas Maitland, Mavrocordatos would not receive him and treated him with suspicion. Hastings then wrote him a letter in French which began thus, to quote from the translation made by Finlay:—

CORINTH, *24th April*, 1822.

MONSIEUR LE PRINCE,

As I found Your Highness occupied yesterday when I had the honour of presenting myself at your residence, I have determined to take the liberty of writing to you. I shall speak with freedom, convinced that Your Highness will reply in the same way.

[1] Cf. Rados, Φράνκ Ἅμπνευ Ἀστιγξ (Athens, 1917), pp. 15 ff.

I will not amuse you with recounting the sacrifices I have made to serve Greece. I came without being invited, and I have no right to complain if my services are not accepted. In that case I shall only regret that I cannot add my name to those of the liberators of Greece; I shall not cease to wish for the triumph of liberty and civilisation over tyranny and barbarism.

But I believe that I may say to Your Highness without failing in respect that I have a right to have my services either accepted or rejected, for (as you may easily suppose) I could expend my money quite as agreeably elsewhere. . . .

After this Hastings was received by Mavrocordatos, and obtained the appointment to the Fleet that he desired, and on April 30th, 1822, began his services in the Greek Navy, less than a month after his first arrival in Greece. His attempts to improve discipline and fit sights, locks, etc. to the guns met with some opposition at first, owing to the prejudice in favour of old-fashioned methods; but on May 5th Hastings wrote in his journal: 'Employed myself in preparing the *Themistocles* for action by placing sights and locks on the guns, and experienced fewer obstacles than I expected.' This shows how short a time it took before Hastings' character began to win him the confidence of his Greek comrades.

In the ensuing cruise under the command of Miaoules, the Greek Fleet was mainly employed in operations off Chios and in endeavouring to persuade the Turkish Fleet, which then lay off that town, to fight a general engagement. It was during this cruise that Kanares performed his famous exploit of destroying the Turkish flag-ship with his fire-ships. When that occurred, Hastings was unfortunately away: he had been sent to experiment with some wheels that he had brought with him to attach to boats or small vessels, so that they could approach enemy ships independent of the wind, at a greater speed than could be obtained by rowing. Though Hastings' experiments with wheels on small boats were successful, he failed to induce the Greek naval authorities to try them on a larger vessel, and no use was made of them. He visited the Greek forces besieging Nauplia, and soon after rejoined the Fleet and submitted various plans for attacking the Turkish ships at Chios and Tenedos. None of his plans were accepted, and Hastings seems to have been rather disappointed; but Miaoules was probably right in not adopting them, because he knew that the Greek Fleet, being composed of vessels privately

owned and manned and equipped by their owners, could not have that unity of action and purpose which it would have had if the ships were all Government property. A commander might hesitate to risk his own ship, especially if he knew that his ship was his fortune, and only hired for the Navy, but would have far less hesitation in taking a Government vessel into action. During this period Hastings further increased his popularity with the Greek seamen by saving the *Themistocles* from running aground on the Turkish coast during a gale, through his seamanship and coolness. When the cruise was over he joined the Greek forces before Nauplia, and there first met Captain Hane, who afterwards was gunnery officer on board the *Karteria* under him. Both distinguished themselves while in charge of the artillery in the island fort of Bourji (Μπούρτζι).

In 1823 Hastings, as officer in command of the artillery, took part in the Cretan expedition under the command of his friend Tombazes. The expedition, for various reasons, was not a success, and Hastings suffered from fever, so much so that he was much incapacitated for service. While in Crete he heard of Byron's arrival in Greece and, like everyone else, he was inspired by this circumstance with the strongest hopes for the success of the Greek cause. As soon as he could travel, therefore, he returned to Hydra in order to meet Byron to whom he addressed numerous memoranda both now and afterwards, and laid before him his ideas regarding naval matters in Greece. In October, 1823, he went to Athens in order to study Greek, and he resided there for some time. It was there on the 13th December, 1823, that he first met Finlay, of whom Hastings records in his journal for that day, 'He pleases me much.' This was the beginning of a warm friendship between the two men which was broken only by Hastings' death, and may indeed be said to have lasted to Finlay's death, for, as the latter's papers and writings show, the memory of his friend inspired him to secure proper appreciation for his fine qualities and gallant actions and at the same time to cherish all the records of his career.[1]

At this time Hastings was continually submitting reports and memoranda to Byron on Greek naval and military matters, drafts of which in his handwriting exist among his papers. He hoped, with Byron's influence, to be able to bring to realisation his long-cherished plan of a

[1] The Biographical Sketch of Hastings in *Blackwood's Magazine* for October, 1845, was written by Finlay.

steam war-ship constructed and armed according to his own designs. This he hoped would gain the Greeks a definite advantage in naval warfare with the Turks and at the same time form the nucleus of a properly disciplined and well-organized fleet, dependent directly on the Government, and not a collection of private ships hired by semi-independent island communities. Accordingly, in 1824, when the Greek Government obtained its first loan in England, Hastings pushed his scheme with great energy, and eventually in the autumn of that year went to England with the promise that the Greek agents would procure a steamship to be armed and equipped under his superintendence. When he arrived in England the promise was forgotten; all was going too well for the Greek cause; Athens, Nauplia, Corinth, and practically all the strongholds of Central Greece and the Morea were in Greek hands; a Turkish attempt against Missolonghi had failed, and nowhere apparently were the Ottoman forces able to oppose a successful resistance to the progress of the Greek arms. In fact, the complete liberation of Greece seemed likely to be achieved in a short time. This optimism was almost fatal to Greece; there was no attempt to create a regular army; the Greek leaders devoted themselves to politics and the Fleet was not encouraged to keep the sea and thus prevent the Turks from reinforcing the few fortresses they still held and from attempting the reconquest of the Morea. Bitter disillusionment soon followed; the Sultan called on Mohammed Ali, himself a turbulent enough vassal, to assist him in the reduction of his revolted provinces, while he himself endeavoured to reduce the disorder at Constantinople and despatched armies from European Turkey for the same object. In 1825, Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mohammed Ali, reached the Bay of Navarino with a strong fleet convoying transports that carried a small, but well-organized expeditionary force of Egyptian regular troops. The great and rapid success that Ibrahim Pasha won in the Morea seriously alarmed the Greeks and, when it was too late, brought home to them the fact that the Greek Fleet, if strong and able to keep the sea, could have entirely prevented this invasion, which seemed likely to be successful and to reduce Greece once more to subjection under the Turk. In the desperate straits of Greece, Hastings' plan was remembered, and in March, 1825, a ship propelled by steam, which he was to design, arm and command, was ordered at Deptford. She was called in English the *Perseverance*, or in Greek *Karteria*, and it is by the Greek

version of her name that her fame is rightly and naturally recorded. At the same time the Greek Government had engaged Sir Richard Church as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and Lord Cochrane as Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet, both at high salaries. As there was no fleet, five more *Perseverances* were proposed to be built so that Cochrane might command a homogeneous squadron. This change of plan inevitably delayed the building and equipment of Hastings' *Perseverance*. Hastings was in despair. Then Missolonghi fell, and the tale of its heroic fall produced such a deep impression, that Greece herself and her friends abroad were more determined than ever to make Greece free. Orders were thereupon given that the *Karteria* should be completed for service as soon as possible. Hastings' difficulties and anxieties during this period are best illustrated by his letters. On February 28th, 1825, he wrote to a friend, 'However, upon cooler reflection, I consider that whatever may be my feelings with respect to any conduct towards me either from Greeks or others, I ought not to permit those feelings to enter in any way into the grand question of Grecian independence.' It is under this impression that I do myself the honour of acquainting you that although I cannot ever enter personally into the struggle between the Turks and Greeks, I am equally anxious that the former (latter?) should succeed, as before they had attempted to deceive me. Before I joined the cause I knew the character of the people, but that does in no measure alter the question of the merits of the war. Nothing on their part (and they have confirmed my assertion) can make me wish for anything but their success. I am, therefore, at all times ready to give any information connected with the present struggle which may tend to advance the cause of the Greeks which my experience in the country may have put me in possession of. . . .' On July 29th, of the same year he wrote to Finlay, 'I have experienced all the intrigues and opposition from the Greek Deputies respecting the Steam Vessel, which I expected—one thing however, I have experienced which I did not calculate upon, namely the total indifference if not opposition of the people connected with the loan. . . .' On March 2nd, 1826, he wrote to Finlay, 'I cannot in conscience advise anybody to hazard a return to Greece although I go myself: certainly I have reason to hope that things will take such a turn out there that friends of the cause will be able to serve with credit and advantage to all parties, but still there is a great risk in it. If no unforeseen events occur I must

be gone by the 1st of April, and I hope it is quite unnecessary for me to assure you how delighted I should be to have your company and share my Cabin with you. All this must of course be kept a profound secret, for I am extremely anxious at this moment about our departure, since I have brought my plans so nearly to a conclusion after such long and laborious efforts to overcome such an accumulation of intrigue and opposition as perhaps nobody ever had to contend against. If I do ultimately succeed nobody will believe the difficulties I have had to struggle with. But Perseverance will succeed at last. . . .' On March 9th, he writes again to Finlay, 'The vessel named the *Perseverance* goes out of dock to-morrow and ought to be ready to sail before the end of the month. . . . You are aware that the moment of departure is for us a very critical one; you will therefore see the necessity of observing the most profound secrecy about it. . . .'

In spite, however, of all Hastings' efforts and optimism, it was not until May 26th, 1826, that the *Karteria* was hastily completed and left Deptford on her voyage to Greece. She was built to use her sails as a normal method of propulsion while cruising, and as a rule her engines were only used in action for convenience in manoeuvring, or on other occasions of emergency. For her size she was heavily armed: she carried eight sixty-eight pounders, four of them carronades of the British Government pattern, and four seven-foot guns designed by Hastings himself for firing hot-shot, and mounted on the carriages of ten-inch howitzers. The hot-shot were heated in the furnaces and carried to the guns in special cradles devised by Hastings, and it is remarkable that not a single accident caused by the use of hot-shot ever occurred on board of her. This alone is a high tribute to Hastings and to the skill and training of the Greek sailors under his command. On her voyage to Greece, the *Karteria* was dogged by misfortune: the boiler gave continual trouble, and finally burst, so that Hastings was obliged to put into Cagliari in Sardinia for extensive repairs, which detained her there till August 28th. Also from Cagliari he sent home to England Finlay, whose affection for his friend in the cause of Greece had induced him to ship as Hastings' companion in this great adventure, to bring out to Greece as soon as possible some additional engineers and mechanics. These delays made it impossible for Hastings to reach Greece in time for the naval campaign of that year, for it is not till the autumn we find him informing the Greek Government as follows:—

'Perseverance' Steam Vessel,
NAPOLI DE ROMANIE,
15 *September*, 1826.

MESSIEURS,

J'ai l'honneur de Vous annoncer que je suis arrivé dans ce port avec le bateau à vapeur *La Persévérance* et que je suis prêt à négocier avec vous pour le rendre votre propriété.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la plus haute considération.

Votre Serviteur,

FRANK ABNEY HASTINGS.

A leurs Excellences les Membres du Corps exécutif en Grèce.

In the winter of 1826–1827 Hastings showed the value of his ship by his skilful operations in Piraeus Harbour while assisting Gordon in his attempt to relieve the Acropolis of Athens. The letters of Dr. Howe, the American Philhellene, who served on board as surgeon, give many interesting details of this expedition, and Howe is loud in praise of Hastings for the skill and gallantry with which he commanded his vessel in those confined waters under Turkish fire.[1] Later on in March of the same year the *Karteria*, with other ships, took part in a combined naval and military attack upon Oropos, the object of which was to cut the Turks' communications with Negroponte (Chalcis), and by thus depriving the Turkish Army of supplies compel it to raise the siege of Athens. So far as the ships were concerned, the expedition was a success: the Turkish batteries were silenced and their storeships taken, but owing to inexplicable delay on the part of the troops the greater success to be hoped for was not obtained. In April of the same year Hastings, in command of a squadron consisting of his own ship and four others, made a raid against the Turkish ships in the Gulf of Volo, with the same object of preventing supplies reaching by sea the Turkish forces before Athens. This raid was a brilliant success: five prizes loaded with provisions and ammunition were taken and others destroyed, the Turkish batteries were silenced, and a Turkish sixteen-gun brig at Trikeri was set on fire by hot-shot and destroyed. After this Hastings returned to Poros to refit and take part in Lord Cochrane's cruises of that summer, which were intended to interrupt Ibrahim Pacha's communications with Egypt.

In July, 1827, the three Powers of Great Britain, France and Russia,

[1] Richards, *Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe*, i. pp. 186 ff., especially pp. 205 ff.

under the inspiration of George Canning, signed the Protocol of London for the pacification of Greece, and endeavoured to impose on both Greeks and Turks an armistice till definite arrangements for solving the Greek question could be made. Under these circumstances it became absolutely necessary that as much Greek territory as possible should be brought under Greek occupation. Since the fall of Missolonghi the western part of Central Greece had come again under Turkish rule, and it was necessary if this district was to be included in an independent Greece that action should be taken to enforce Greek claims to it. Accordingly in the autumn of 1827 Hastings was sent with a small independent squadron into the Gulf of Corinth to destroy any Turkish ships he might find and cut their communications between Central Greece and the Morea, and at the same time to support Sir Richard Church's proposed expedition of the Greek Army into Acarnania. On the 29th of September Hastings totally destroyed the Turkish squadron in the Bay of Itea, a very brilliant action which he describes thus in a letter to Finlay, dated October 2nd: 'The 29th of last month was the finest day of my existence: we went into Salona to attack nine Turkish vessels: one brig with sixteen guns, bearing an Admiral's flag, one schooner of fourteen guns, three smaller schooners, two armed transport ships and two boves. Thomas and the two gun-boats were with me; but before he could anchor, although close astern with me, the Admiral was afire, the schooner afire, and a transport brig sunk forward and on fire aft, and the large schooner deserted. They were all aground, and were destroyed all but one very small schooner and one bove; but the drawback of this success is I want everything—provisions, coal, ammunition, sails, ropes, boats, and above all things money. . . .'

The Turkish Fleet at Navarino put out with the object of crushing Hastings in the Gulf, but was turned back by the combined fleets of the Powers and compelled to observe the armistice. Not long after followed the battle of Navarino, and that event made the liberation of Greece certain. The Greeks thereupon redoubled their efforts to extend Greek authority in the north-west: in accordance with this policy, Church with his army moved to Acarnania, being transported across the Gulf of Corinth by Hastings and his squadron. The idea was that Church and his forces should approach Missolonghi from the land, while Hastings attacked it from the sea. The key to Missolonghi on the sea side was the island fort of Vasiladi, which could not be closely approached by ships owing to the

shallow lagoons around it. On December 29th, when he was attacking Vasiladi with long-range shell-fire, which had previously proved ineffective, a shell from a gun trained by Hastings himself fell into the magazine, and the fort was surrendered. He describes the event to Finlay thus: 'Yesterday, when we had no more biscuit, one of our shells fell into the Turks' magazine, and *nous voilà en possession de* Vasiladhi. Three days ago the mighty Alexander[1] came here in his brig to take Anatolico, disembarked two hundred men at Scrofes without a biscuit, got from me two hundred ocas of biscuit he had lent me, and returned to Dragomestre in triumph the following day. So much for quackery! Now for luck! Vasiladhi was full of biscuit, water, olives, cheese, lemons, oranges, fish, fowls, and in fine the letter of the Turks was true except in having beaten our Invincible Hero. I send you a copy of my despatch; get it published.' Hastings was naturally anxious that this success should be made known to the world in the hope that it might influence the Greek policy of the Powers and procure a greater extent of territory for independent Greece.

Not long after this Capo d'Istria became President of Greece, and on his arrival Hastings addressed to him a long memorandum on naval matters, containing also suggestions for the better organisation of the Greek Navy. No notice, however, was taken of it, and about the same time Lord Cochrane left Greece. Hastings, who had spent several thousand pounds of his own private fortune in equipping his vessel and paying his crew, was so much discouraged by this circumstance that even he decided to leave Greece. On February 11th, 1828, he wrote to Finlay: 'However, I think under existing circumstances my absence is desirable until recalled. Were I to return at this moment it would be said, and perhaps justly, I abandoned my station to look after my private interests. I am by no means particularly anxious to command the Greek Navy and would not accept of it, but on conditions such as would enable me really to make a Navy of it. If the Greek Government wants such a person, I think that both the length and importance of my services should entitle me to it—if they think differently I am ready to resign the command of this vessel to anybody they may name without a moment's regret.' On March 4th he again writes to Finlay, from Loutraki: 'Here I am arrived this morning, heartily disgusted with all the proceedings of the new Government towards me, and quite resolved not to stay in Greece

[1] Alexander Mavrocordatos, then Minister of Marine.

an instant longer than is absolutely necessary to finish my affairs.' Fortunately the prospect of losing one of the most disinterested and devoted foreign officers in the service of the Greek Navy—the only one who had made a name for himself in Greece by his skill and gallantry [1]—alarmed Capo d'Istria. Hastings was sent for by the President for a personal interview and entrusted by him with the organisation of the Navy. He immediately set to work to try to accomplish this, which had been his main ideal ever since he first began to serve in the Greek Navy. He wished to create an arsenal at Poros to serve as the headquarters of a properly organised fleet of Government vessels under Government control. Consequently we find Hastings writing on March 22nd from Poros to Finlay, saying: 'I am trying to set things going for the naval organisation. I have found no difficulty on the part of the President; of course the usual difficulties in the detail—I am striving hard to get a Navy Board and Dockyard established, and want you for one of the Commissioners of the Navy Board.' On March 19th, he writes again: 'I am hooked in as I fear, for a most disagreeable affair, investigating the accounts of Thomas, Darby, etc. A little being like me in the presence of King John [2] is sure to have no will of his own—the great man is always like the parson in his pulpit. I foresaw this, and therefore wished to avoid a personal interview—he extracted from me a half promise to render myself useful in any way for a few days, and this morning I received this damned order, which will, of course, make me more enemies than ever among our good countrymen. *N'importe.*—I will endeavour to execute it with perfect impartiality—let those dislike it who like it. Tacked to this investigation of accounts is a kind of Admiralty Commission, of which Toombasi and me are members—this I see is done as a kind of douceur to flatter my vanity. I am vain, certainly very vain on some points, but not caught thus. However, I

[1] Dr. Howe refers to Hastings as: 'This devoted and gallant Philhellene—his memory is deeply engraved in the minds of the Greeks; he will have a high rank in their history, and perhaps no foreigner deserves a higher. From his cold and ungainly manner, his want of address and of the common hypocrisy of society, he repelled acquaintance, he made few personal friends, and gave excellent opportunities to his enemies of injuring him; but his long tried and entire devotion to the cause of Greece, his sacrifice of time, comfort and money, his perfect sincerity, his courage, his enterprise, his knowledge of his profession, and more than all his daring and successful battles and honourable death, have forced upon the minds of all Greeks that he was among their greatest and best friends. His name is never mentioned without an eulogium and a regret that his merits had been so long concealed from them by his modesty.' See Richards, *Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe*, i. p. 334.

[2] *i.e.* John Capo d'Istria, the President of Greece.

foresee I shall be able to bully them into a species of organisation, and then I am quite ready to go back to the *Karteria*.'

As he foreshadows in this letter, it was not long before Hastings, having laid the foundations of a proper naval administration, went back to active service and resumed command of the *Karteria* and the squadron at the entrance of the Gulf of Corinth. On the 9th of May we find him once more off Vasiladi, and among his papers is a manuscript headed *Journal of Proceedings before Anatolico*. Hastings was co-operating with Sir Richard Church, whose forces were masters of the open country in Acarnania, as the Greek chiefs who had submitted to the Turks had now rejoined the national cause. Just as Vasiladi was the key to Missolonghi on the sea side of the lagoon before the town, so on the upper or landward side of the lagoon the fortified island village of Anatolico or Aetoliko, had to be taken before Missolonghi could be properly invested. Accordingly after reconnoitring the position with Church, and ineffectually bombing Missolonghi, it was resolved to attempt to storm Anatolico. A detachment of Church's troops in small boats were to co-operate in the attack with the boats of Hastings' squadron; and to endeavour to ensure success in this delicate combined attack Hastings took command himself. Unfortunately the military detachment, being insufficiently disciplined, without waiting either for the signal or the preliminary bombardment, dashed forward and were at once thrown into confusion by heavy fire from the Turks. Seeing this and hoping to repair the check, Hastings ordered the boats of the squadron to advance on the other side. They, too, were met by heavy fire and their leader, Captain Andreas Papapanou, a gallant Greek officer, was killed. As they hesitated on the death of their leader, Hastings rowed forward in his gig to take command of the assault himself; as he did so he was struck in the left arm by a bullet and fell down. When he fell all the boats retired and the attempt was abandoned.

There was unfortunately no surgeon on board the *Karteria*, but one was procured from the camp as soon as possible and Hastings' wound dressed and pronounced slight. Three days afterwards, on May 28th, writing to Mavrocordatos, Minister of Marine, he inserted at the end of the letter as a kind of afterthought: 'J'espère que d'en trois ou quatre jours ma blessure me permettra de reprendre mon poste dans le lac d'Anatolico et d'y surveiller les opérations maritimes.' Hastings' hopes were not destined to be fulfilled. His wound was already growing worse;

amputation was thought necessary as signs of tetanus had appeared. To obtain proper surgical advice and treatment it was decided to take him at once to Zante, whence on June 2nd, 1828, Mr. Charles Hancock wrote to Finlay as follows: 'I daresay you have already heard that poor Hastings received a wound in his wrist some ten days ago in an affair before Anatolico which was not considered serious; it appears, however, that about a week after it happened, spasmodic symptoms attacked the whole system and he was brought over here for further surgical advice and assistance; he arrived here yesterday afternoon and was got into the Lazzaretto with as little loss of time as possible, but it was already too late, he was too much exhausted for amputation; the convulsive attacks were repeated and he died at half past eight in the evening. Robinson and I are just returned from rendering him the last service in consigning him to the steamer's cutter. I need not tell you who knew him so intimately that Greece has lost one of the best and most efficient friends her cause ever had.'

II.—FINLAY.

Among the papers of Finlay is a small manuscript book in his own handwriting called *Extracts, Letters and Documents relative to the Writings of George Finlay*. This, which he apparently collected in 1865, contains much of interest concerning his career, and among the letters is a draft of that to Professor Felton, of Harvard, containing a sketch of his life which has been used in the Oxford edition of his histories.[1]

Finlay begins with an account of his family, written in an ironical style as though he did not believe much in genealogies. There was, he says, a Clan Finlay or Clan Fhiounlaidh from which his ancestors sprang. Of them there is as little to be said as of himself; but there is always one great man in every family, and the great man of the Finlay family obtained and lost the throne of Scotland in a very disreputable manner. The family hero was Macbeth Finlay, who was an able and beneficent prince, and has been much misrepresented by Shakespeare. After stating 'Macbeth's sons and their posterity appear to have done nothing during four hundred years but take care of the genealogical tree, which they perhaps watered during that long period with a little fiction,' Finlay remarks: 'What

[1] Oxford, 1877, vol. i. pp. xxxix. ff.

became of the house after the battle of Pinkie I cannot say. The genealogical tree is very brief. One man was a traveller and another a merchant, so that I can only repeat the observation of Dame Ursula, "I never knew a Scot of you but was descended from some great house or other, and a piteous descent it often is."' He then proceeds to his own immediate ancestors. His grandfather was a merchant of some distinction, and his father, John Finlay, an officer of the Royal Engineers and a Fellow of the Royal Society. His journals show that he was a keen student of botany, and his letters written while on active service in the Low Countries in 1799 to his wife are of considerable interest. While John Finlay was in charge of the Government Powder Mills at Faversham his second son, George Finlay, was born there on December 21st, 1799. Three years later John Finlay died, and four years afterwards Mrs. Finlay married Alexander MacGregor, a Liverpool merchant. George Finlay ascribes his love of history to his mother, who so taught it to him as to make it more interesting than common nursery tales. When the American War broke out in 1812 Alexander MacGregor left England to look after his property in New York, and George Finlay, who had spent some years at a boarding school near Liverpool, was taken to live with his uncle, Kirkman Finlay, of Castle Toward, who was Member of Parliament for Glasgow Burghs and later Rector of Glasgow University. Here Finlay was educated with his cousins under their private tutor, and passed every summer very happily with them on the Clyde, boating, fishing and wandering over the hills. He learned little during three years of study at Glasgow University, and wished to enter the army; but his uncle pointed out to him that that was an unprofitable profession in peace time for one with scanty means, and he resolved to study law instead. He began as a pupil to a firm in Glasgow, and then went to Göttingen to complete his studies. When he left home his uncle said to him: 'Well, George, I hope you will study hard at Roman Law; but I suppose you will visit the Greeks before I see you again.' His uncle knew him better than he knew himself. The War of Greek Independence had then begun, and Finlay was much attracted by the cause of liberty, for he held strong liberal and democratic opinions, and also by the spirit of romance and adventure which the magic name of Greece, the mother of art, literature and liberty, always inspires in the peoples of the West. So while at Göttingen Finlay read and studied industriously, but not entirely Roman Law. He took every opportunity of

obtaining information on Greece both from books and from those who had visited the country, and what he learnt so stirred his blood that he resolved to go to Greece himself. In 1823, before he had heard of Byron's intention to join the Greeks, he sailed from Venice, and after a voyage of forty-five days reached Zante. He visited Cephalonia, where he was received kindly by Byron and Sir Charles Napier, then British Resident of the island. He stayed in Greece from December, 1823, to December, 1824, and at Athens in December, 1823, he first met Hastings, as already related. He stayed two months at Missolonghi, and spent almost every evening with Byron, who employed him as his agent in corresponding with Odysseus and other chiefs in East-Central Greece. While in this service Finlay prevented the military stores sent by Byron to Eastern Greece from being carried to the cave of Odysseus on Parnassus, and secured their being conveyed to the Acropolis of Athens, where they proved of immense value in its subsequent defence against the Turks. After a tour with Odysseus through Eastern Greece he arrived with that chief in the Morea in time to witness the battle at the Mills of Lerna between the Government troops and the soldiers of Kolokotrones. Discouraged by the civil war he returned to Missolonghi to join the camp, hoping to find more order in Mavrocordatos' province. The summer and autumn of 1824 were very unhealthy, and while at Millingen's quarters at Kerasovo Finlay had a very bad attack of fever, and for some time his life was in danger. When convalescent he left Greece, and in December of that year reached Ancona, where he passed some days in quarantine with Sir Charles Napier. After spending the winter at Rome and the spring in Sicily, he did not recover his full health and strength till the summer of 1825, which he enjoyed at his uncle's house, Castle Toward, in Scotland. He determined to resume his legal studies, and early in 1826 passed his examination in civil law; but he got into correspondence with Hastings, who was then in England superintending the fitting out of the *Karteria*, and naturally invited his friend to join him. Finlay gladly accepted Hastings' invitation to share his cabin on the *Karteria*, and sailed with him for Greece. When the engine of the *Karteria* broke down, and she had to be repaired at Cagliari, he returned thence to England to bring out additional engineers and mechanics. This delayed him so long that he did not rejoin Hastings till the expedition formed under Gordon early in 1827 to attempt the relief of Athens. It was then that he first met on board the *Karteria*

Dr. Howe, the American Philhellene, with whom he formed a lasting friendship. After this Finlay does not seem to have served continuously on board the *Karteria*, but rather to have remained at Aegina, Poros, Hydra and elsewhere, and to have acted as Hastings' agent and furnished him with supplies, money and other necessaries for the ship. After the Protocol of London in 1827, and the arrival of Capo d'Istria, Finlay was greatly encouraged, and hoped to obtain some civil employment in which he could help in the organisation of a satisfactory administration for Greece. When the President appointed Hastings to organise the Navy, Finlay was asked by his friend to be one of the Commissioners of the Navy Board. This did not succeed, and Hastings recommended Finlay to Capo d'Istria for other employment, suggesting some post in the judiciary in view of his legal training. Although nothing of this kind materialised, Finlay, full of high hopes now that the liberation of Greece seemed likely to be accomplished under the protection of the three great Powers, Great Britain, France and Russia, resolved to settle in Greece and do what he could towards helping in the material improvement of the country. He first lived at Aegina, where he built himself a house and made a garden. In 1829, during Fabvier's unsuccessful siege of Chios, he was reported to have taken part in the expedition and to have been killed in a sortie of the Turks, and his obituary was published in the *Times* and other papers. He preserved a copy of this and of several letters relating to his supposed death. When the sale of Turkish property in Athens was authorised, he transferred himself thither. He lived in Athens in his town house in Hadrian Street, and had a country place at Liosia, on the eastern slopes of Parnes. His idea was to farm his estate and to take part in politics. At the same time he travelled much in the islands, first with Ross, when his attention was first called to the prehistoric antiquities of Greece, and on the mainland with Howe, Gordon and others. In 1836 he wrote a pamphlet in French advocating the establishment of a national bank, and he contributed articles to English and American magazines on the Greek nation and the prospects of the newly founded kingdom. In 1841 he was elected as a liberal and a constitutionalist to the Provincial Council of Attica. During the War of Independence he had written letters to various English papers and published pamphlets to aid the cause of Greek freedom, but he seems not to have had any intention, when the Kingdom of Greece was established, of becoming a

historian, for he wished rather to be a farmer and a man of politics and affairs. In these fields he was striving to make himself useful, and was also one of the Commissioners for carrying out the plan of Athens then laid down. He quite soon, however, abandoned public affairs and occupied himself with writing the history of Greece since her conquest by the Romans in 146 B.C. At the same time he interested himself in the study of antiquity, and travelled much in the East, visiting Palestine, Jerusalem, Egypt, Trebizond and other places. England he only visited rarely, and after 1854 does not seem to have been home, though in constant correspondence with friends in England and America. His last visit to Europe seems to have been to Switzerland in 1868, when an expedition to the Swiss Lake Dwellings revived his former interest, dating from 1837 or earlier, in prehistoric antiquities, and thenceforward to the end of his life he gave much of his time to the prehistoric remains of Greece, of which he was one of the first students. For ten years, 1864–1874, he was the Athens correspondent of the *Times*, and he was always foremost in championing the cause of Greece in British magazines and papers, noticeably during the Cretan struggle of 1866 and the following years. He suffered much in his later life from ill-health, and died at Athens on January 26th, 1875.

The great monument to his memory, apart from the devotion of his whole life and fortune to the cause of Greece, is his *History of Greece under Foreign Domination.* In 1844, he published *Greece under the Romans*; in 1852 and 1856 the two volumes of the *History of the Byzantine Empire.* In 1857 followed *Mediaeval Greece and Trebizond* and *Greece under Ottoman and Venetian Domination*, and in 1861 the *History of the Greek Revolution.* From 1863 to his death he was busy in making corrections in and additions to his histories for a new edition, which appeared after his death as the Oxford edition, and contains the interesting supplementary chapters on King Otho's reign. Of his histories he says, in 1856, in the dedication to his half brother James MacGregor: 'Had the high hopes with which I joined the cause of Greece in 1823 been fulfilled, it is not probable that I should have abandoned the active duties of life and the noble task of labouring to improve the land for the sterile occupation of recording its misfortunes. But the demerits of my literary efforts in the cause of civil liberty and national institutions will not diminish your affection for the author,' and

again in a letter to Professor Felton, of Harvard, announcing the publication of his *History of the Greek Revolution* he says, 'Judge it severely. I am sure it invites no kindness, for it is severe and cold, like the work of a disappointed enthusiast.' This self-revelation gives us the clue to his character when taken in conjunction with the following description of him by Dr. Howe,[1] 'He is a fine fellow, and conceals under the air of a man of the world and partly of a misanthrope, a kind heart and delicate feelings. Most people think him cold blooded, sarcastic and selfish, and I once thought so, but he is not. He despises affectation or parade of feeling, but possesses it in reality.' Hastings, too, seems to have thought that he was not well adapted by temperament for a very active life, to judge by this interesting letter:—

'*Karteria*,' 20*th April*, 1828.

DEAR FINLAY,

I sail to-morrow with the ship in high order. I wish you could see her, she is so smart now, and the thousand little improvements we have made answer so well. . . . Enough, however, about the *Karteria*. Now about yourself. Do let me recommend you not to go soldiering or sailoring; take a civil employment. I do not mean that you want military talents—on the contrary, you would have made either a good sailor or soldier had you served an apprenticeship—but without this it is loss of time. When you reflect, I am sure you must be convinced that talent has less to do with success in the military profession than being conversant with all the details of the trade. I do not hesitate to say that you would plan a battle better than Lord Nelson and on shore better probably than many generals. But you would be beaten nevertheless, because if you commanded, all the details would have been so overlooked that your better disposition would not compensate for defect of detail. It is by a scrupulous attention to trifles that the British navy has often won battles which certainly they never owed to the plan of attack chosen by the admiral.

Enough of this; when I come again on your side of the world I hope to find you in a civil employment.

Yours very sincerely,

F. A. HASTINGS.

To be brief, Finlay was romantic and not really a practical man of affairs, by nature a student and by principle a strong liberal, so strong

[1] Richards, *Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe*, i. p. 349.

indeed, that it made his independent spirit equally intolerant both of despotism and of unrestrained liberty. A few quotations from his journals will illustrate these aspects of him.

On January 1st, 1833, he begins his journal: 'I remember that I once observed to Lord Byron (on his recounting some romantic incident of his life which afterwards figured in a novel) that I was one of those prosaic persons, who either never had the good fortune to meet with a romantic incident during my life or else that I was so dull, that I did not perceive the romance of those incidents which were really romantic. Lord Byron's reply was: "Finlay, it is enough for you to be here in Greece for me to say to you: Write down either the events which have already occurred to you in life or those which shall occur in future, and you will find on examination that few romances contain so many really romantic incidents as your own life." This observation occurs to me with force at this moment, when I am apparently on the eve of commencing a very prosaic journal. The war in Greece and the long and romantic farce of the mediation of the three allied powers seems drawing to a conclusion, and it is probable that, while the arrival of Otho of Bavaria (by the Grace of God) King of Greece, will put an end to the disorders, tyranny and violence of the Greek Capitani, it will also rapidly reduce the country to the insipid as well as secure state of European society. Now transformed as I am from an independent soldier to a wealthy Greek landholder, and consequently with every incitement to find order agreeable as well as profitable, I own I cannot refuse a sigh, tho' I pay it with joy, on bidding farewell to the freedom of our lawless revolution, and perhaps, were I not a husband[1] and a father, I might shrink almost from the idea of plunging again into all the trammels of etiquette. . . . As I possess . . . the appliances and means of examining and recording the progress of Greece from Barbarism back to Civilisation, and as, if life be granted to me, I must bear some part in aiding the arduous undertaking, I shall endeavour to record with some regularity the most important events which appear to me to influence the moral and political world in this corner of the earth, I, who have been all my life a searcher after the romantic and after ideal perfection, and have been an idle and irregular recorder of the romantic and soul stirring incidents of the revolution, determine to become the steady journalist of the prosaic scenes I am now to witness.'

[1] Finlay's romantic marriage cannot be described here.

On January 1st, 1834, he writes: 'The last year of my life spent entirely at Athens has proved neither a very happy nor a very fortunate one. My occupation has almost exclusively been money making, and I have made very little. That impatience of success, too, which haunts the spirits of the revolution has made me discontented with the slow march of government and the delays in the organisation of the interior.'

Later in the same year he says: 'Indeed all the good of the Regency is comprised in this, that the King is in Greece and anarchy has consequently ceased. Now let us hope for better things.' In March, 1830, he had expressed himself thus: 'Greece bled, starved, fought, conquered and despaired; for what, Ye Gods?—to be trampled on by John Capo d'Istria and ruled by a German Prince!'

Then on June 15th, 1837, we find: 'Several weeks ago I was informed that a list of Philhellenes had (been?) presented by the War Office to the King in order to receive the cross of the Sauveur. I was told my name was in the list, and as I was supposed to enjoy a certain degree of favour in the eyes of His Majesty, it was told me by everybody that I was to have the cross. The King it seems struck my name out with his own hand, and one of his aides de camp, supposing there was a mistake, put the name in a new list. The King again struck it out, and on being asked if Major Finlay was not to have the cross he said, "He is a violent liberal and active constitutionalist, and therefore dangerous."'

Finally, in 1841, two years before the granting of the constitution, he wrote: 'No good government seems now possible, so that to govern Greece at all the people must be gained to the belief that they participate in the government, and then a national feeling being awakened even a tolerable government and an ordinary ministry may avoid anarchy. To me it seems this can only be done by a national assembly, not that I engage to say that a national assembly will immediately prove a panacea for the evils of the existing state of things. As matters stand the most eminent danger to avoid seems anarchy.'

His sentimentalism and independence is also shown by the lines from Rogers' *Italy*, which he puts at the beginning of his journal:—

'One who saw,
Observed, nor shunned the busy scenes of life
But mingled not, and 'mid the din, the stir,
Lived as a separate spirit.'

In this spirit he wrote on August 25th, 1846: 'I have given up Greek politics; and so completely have I done it that I read no newspapers and rarely see those who occupy themselves exclusively with political business. Now so few people at Athens occupy themselves with anything but politics, the consequence is that I live almost alone. My own resource is in study.'

We thus obtain a clear view of Finlay's mind. He was temperamentally too romantic and independent to be anything but a student and an observer. This, coupled with the failure of his attempts at farming and his impatience at the slow progress of Greece towards material prosperity and good and stable government, made him a historian. At heart he was of a sentimental disposition, which he tried to conceal by affecting cynicism and bitter misanthropy. His devotion to the search for 'the romantic and ideal perfection' made him an ardent liberal and lover of democratic order, but he was not in favour of a highly centralised administration and of the abolition of the municipal autonomy enjoyed by various islands and districts of Greece. In 1868, on returning from his last journey to Europe, he records the opinion that Greece would have done better in her administration to have modelled herself on Holland and Switzerland rather than France or England. Accordingly he did not feel happy either under Capo d'Istria or under King Otho, and was equally disappointed at the failure of the Constitution to make rapid progress in remedying the state of Greek politics. He was very diffident of his own powers and his own writings, although his friend Professor Felton told him: 'I would rather be the author of your histories than prime minister of England.' He wrote without fear or favour a simple and candid account of what he believed to be the truth, enlivened with a dry Scots humour, but flavoured at times with a cynical irony. He could make no allowances for human weaknesses, and could forgive no failing in justice or humanity, no tampering with moral right or civil liberty. He himself was the first person he criticised. He identified himself so wholly with Greece and all that Greece stands for, liberty, art and the progress of knowledge and political institutions, that he allowed himself the privilege of criticising Greece. This gave some offence in Greece, where he was not rightly understood, and he concealed his sincere philhellenism and his deep feelings all the more under his usual cloak of bitter sarcasm.

He was indeed a 'disappointed enthusiast.' He came to Greece with

bright dreams of liberty, prosperity and another golden age for Hellas. Instead he saw every obstacle delay the advent of this millennium, which he was too impatient to see realised. The original leaders of the Greek patriots, Capo d'Istria, the Three Powers, the Regency, King Otho and the Greek Constitution, all disappointed him in turn. When each came, he with his sanguine romanticism thought that at last the day he had been looking for had dawned, and each time was he disillusioned chiefly through his own over-eagerness. Had his hopes been less high, his disappointment would have been far less bitter. Had he been more practical, he would not have been so impatient to see Modern Greece become the rival of Ancient Greece. He could not bear to see her path to prosperity impeded by the errors of her rulers and by the faults and jealousies of the Great Powers who guaranteed her liberty. The difference between events as they came to pass and what he had longed for and imagined, soured him and made him fancy things worse than they were. He became despondent, for twice over had he buried his heart in Greece. All the glorious visions of his youth were buried there, killed by stern reality ; and in Athens he buried his little daughter, his only child. His daughter's death was a terrible blow to him, and he wrote in his journal: 'Tuesday the 9th November (1841) I lost my sweet Helen. I write this on the 15th April, 1843, yet life offers still no consolation for the loss ; she was born on the 1st May, 1831.'

None the less to the last he retained his faith, for on January 31st, 1865, he wrote the following preface for the *Extracts, Letters and Documents Relative to the Writings of George Finlay* :—

'I am aware that the praise contained in the following pages is the echo of friendly sympathy, not calm criticism. My experience of life has been confined to a limited sphere, and if my views have sometimes been commended by abler men, on the other hand, those whom I reverence have at times thought my judgments on the events which lay within my own immediate observation severe, perhaps harsh.

'As the hour when I must quit the scene of my labours for my last rest approaches near, it is a consolation to feel that my object is and has been to speak the truth for the purpose of aiding the right. I have spent a long life labouring to assist in establishing the national independence of Greece, and to enable the Greek to adopt a system of free institutions, because I think that national freedom, personal liberty and private virtue

must be united in order to make life a blessing of the highest order on earth. The death or the departure from Greece of all my companions, who were labouring with the same views, has left me for many years the only British Philhellene who joined the Greeks before their cause was countenanced by kings and cabinets. My labours have yielded no harvest; but surely the seed I have been sowing is good and the work has been done honestly and perseveringly to advance a good cause. My faith has ever been strong in Milton's maxim, "Justice is the only true Sovereign and supreme Majesty upon earth."'

A. J. B. WACE.

THE MODES IN BYZANTINE MUSIC.

In the attempt at reviving the music of bygone ages the question of the scales employed, or, in other words, the tonality, confronts us at the very outset. Until this is answered our transcriptions must lack all reality. The case of ancient Greek music shews that nearly all the discussion has been about the nature of the modes; and there, in spite of copious original authorities, no hypothesis, not even the orthodox view, has been framed with sufficient plausibility to escape attack from many quarters. Now in Byzantine music the notation can be deciphered (in MSS. of the thirteenth century and later), as far as it gives us the melodic progression, while I have tried to prove that the indications of rhythm can be consistently and adequately interpreted.[1] But when we study the modes we find scarcely any data to help us. The interval-signs make no distinction between whole-tones and any smaller steps: the mediaeval theorists tell us little or nothing about the character of the intervals. Furthermore the series of modern Greek scales differs entirely from the mediaeval systems of Europe; and western and Neohellenic theorists in discussing Byzantine music have usually, with some honourable exceptions, gone their own way without the slightest regard for contrary opinions. But obviously no final understanding can be expected before this disagreement is faced and, if possible, explained and accounted for.

The Accepted View of the Modes.

Byzantine music had eight standard modes, called in Greek ἦχοι. Of these four are authentic (κύριοι) and four plagal (πλάγιοι). The majority of western theorists find a general correspondence between the Byzantine and Gregorian modes,[2] the equation being as follows:—

[1] *B.S.A.* xxi. 125–147.

[2] Riemann, H., *die byz. Notenschrift*, pp. 12–15, assumes a fundamental scale in conformity with the above. Gastoué, *Introduction à la Paléographie Musicale Byzantine* (Paris, 1907), p. 31; Fleischer, *Neumenstudien*, T. 3, Chapter V.; Rebours, *Traité de Psaltique*, App. III., pp. 276 ff.,

	Byzantine.	*Gregorian*	*with Finalis.*
Auth.	I.	I.	*d*
„	II.	III.	*e*
„	III.	V.	*f*
„	IV.	VII.	*g*
Plag.	I.	II.	*d*
„	II.	IV.	*e*
„ (Barys)..	III.	VI.	*f*
„	IV.	VIII.	*g*

The starting-notes of the Byzantine authentic modes are held to form an ascending scale, thus :—

Mode	I.	II.	III.	IV.
	a	*b*	*c'*	*d'*

The Byzantine plagal modes are ranged theoretically a fifth below the authentic, thus :—

Mode plagal	I.	II.	III.	IV.
	d	*e*	*f*	*g*

The Greek symbols for the modes were originally the first four letters of the alphabet, used as numbers, with the addition of $\pi\lambda$ or $\frac{\lambda}{\pi}$ for the plagal. Each *martyria* was not only the signature of a mode, but also the equivalent of the *Finalis* of that mode (*i.e.* its pitch as a separate sound) wherever it might occur.

It must further be noted that in MSS. the same note is often given either the plagal or the authentic signature, whichever the mode of the piece might happen to be. There is, however, only a limited range of notes so described : those above this only receive the authentic signatures, those below only the plagal. From practice-examples, which occur in various MSS.,[1] we glean the following table of signatures :—

are all in substantial agreement. Gaisser, as will be seen, inverts the order of the modes ; but this does not change their essential character.

The table above given will be found in Neale and Hatherley, *Hymns of the Eastern Church with Music*, p. xxxi. The arguments are well summed up by Fleischer, pp. 42 ff.

[1] One of these examples I published with the Byzantine notation in *Mus. Antiquary*, 1911 ; a very similar piece is given by Fleischer, *op. cit.* Facs. p. 2.

Authentic		I.	II.	III.	IV.	I.	II.	III.
	c	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*a*	*b*	*c'*
Plagal.....	IV.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	I.		

The first inference is then that certain notes were regarded as belonging both to the authentic and to the plagal systems. Or, in other words, an authentic mode could use the *Finalis* of the corresponding plagal mode and *vice versâ*. If we extend the scale of finals upwards and downwards, we should have a series of disjunct tetrachords in real sequence, thus :—

G A ♭B c d e f g a ♮b c' d' e' ♯f' g' a

This scheme was probably regarded as the theoretical foundation of all modes, like the *Complete System* of ancient Greece; but in practice the modes undoubtedly retained in their extensions upwards or downwards the same tonal features as properly belonged to their central portions: *e.g.* if a piece in Mode I. ran up to high *f'*, that note would not need to be sharpened. On the other hand, *b* was a movable tone in ancient Greek theory; and it seems that the *b*-flat of the lowest tetrachord was sometimes imported into the middle region. In the modern system *b*-flat is a frequent accidental in descent.

This brings us to a further difficulty of the fundamental scale of modes—the question of pitch. If the modes were always taken at their theoretical height, we should find the higher authentic and lower plagal modes outrunning at both ends the compass of the human voice. It may therefore be fairly held that a certain amount of transposition or overlapping of the modes was adopted in practice. It is clear from the table that more than one possible starting-note is contemplated for seven out of eight notes; and whether we study mediaeval hymns or compare the case of modern Byzantine modes in regard to pitch, we shall have little doubt that something of the kind is required.

If we grant that a mode can start either from its own *Finalis* or from that of its brother-mode, the practical difficulty disappears, and the scales bear the following aspect.

Modes I. and I. plagal employ mainly the octave from *d* to *d'*. In no case, however, is any mode restricted in its extension to a particular octave. Mode I. generally begins and ends on *a*, but may use *d*. I. plagal

mostly begins on *d'* and then takes *b*-flat. Mode II. has *b* or *e* for its *Finalis*. Mode II. plagal usually has *e* and takes *b*-flat. Mode III. has *c'* or *f* for *Finalis* and also takes *b*-flat. Mode III. plagal, if untransposed, begins on low *b*-flat: if transposed (as it generally is) it begins on *f*, still needing *b*-flat. Mode IV. generally starts from *g*; but sometimes, on the analogy of IV. plagal, it borrows *c*, in which case it needs *b*-flat. The fourth plagal itself regularly begins from *c'* (rarely from *g*) and always takes *b*-flat.

The signatures not only give the point of departure for the melody but can also be used at middle cadences to shew the note on which a pause has to be made. As various notes are allowed in such cases, the signature will be borrowed from the mode on the *Finalis* of which the phrase concludes. Thus, if in Mode I. an internal cadence is made upon *f*, the signature of Mode III. would be written. The upper octave of the lower final (when not out of compass) is also available for medial cadences, *e.g.* *d'* in Mode I. or I. plagal.

The plan followed by Fleischer seems to be in general the same as this.[1] Other methods have been tried. Riemann[2] transposes all the modes into the octave-region of the ancient lyre, *e–e'*. Such a course in Byzantine music lacks all evidence and involves much confusion and inconsistency. Gastoué[3] holds that every phrase of music made a fresh start from a central note. The wrongness of this view has been pointed out by Riemann.[4] Gastoué often fails to regain the proper *Finalis*; nor does he seem to apply his own rule very consistently. In any case the absolute pitch of unaccompanied chant depended largely on the singer's own choice. The question is chiefly important where it affects the relations between the modes.

[1] *Op. cit.* Facs. p. 7 he begins Mode I. from *a*, Mode II. from *e*, etc., just as we would recommend to suit the compass of the voice.

[2] *Op. cit.* § 1. In *Byz. Zeitschr.* xx. pp. 433 ff. I have referred to some of the errors in Riemann's assumption. I would again strongly protest against his idea that the plagal modes started one note below the corresponding authentic: such a view is against all evidence of manuscript usage.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 27. The fact that Gastoué does not transcribe all the facsimiles that he gives and fails to supply the originals of most of his versions prevents us from testing his theory in detail.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 47.

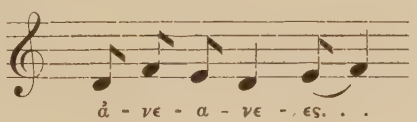
THE Ἀπηχήματα OR MELODIC FORMULAE OF THE MODES.

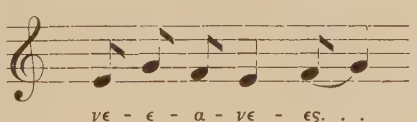
Every mode, besides its number and its ancient Greek name, was also distinguished by certain syllables set to certain notes of music, which formed the characteristic formula of the mode.

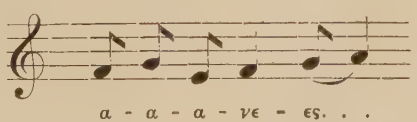
The syllables are given as follows:—

Mode.	*Mode plagal.*
I. Ananes, *ἀνανες.*	I. Aanes, *ἀανες.*
II. Neanes, *νεανες.*	II. Neeanes, *νεεανες.*
III. Nana, *νανα.*	III. Aneanes, *ἀνεανες.*
IV. Hagia, *ἁγια* (or *ἅγιε*).	IV. Neagie, *νεαγιε.*

The musical formulae are given in various MSS. in varying degrees of elaboration. I quote those of the authentic modes from a Hadrianople MS.,[1] which contains the *Papadiké* and various exercises. This particular specimen also illustrates the relations between the modes by shewing that the *Finales* of certain modes are the *Mesoi* or "mediants" of other modes.

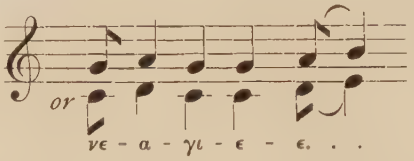
"The first plagal has Mode III. for its mediant, as thou seest[2]:—

= III.

"The second plagal has Mode IV., thus:—

= IV.

"The Barys (III. plagal) has the first, thus:—

= I.

[1] M. Paranikas in Ἑλλ. Φιλ. Συλλ. κα' 167 publishes the example here used, but gives no transcription.

[2] In each case we begin in the mode first mentioned and reach the *Finalis* described as 'mediant.'

"And the fourth plagal has the second, thus:—"

= II.

The exact verbal sense of these formulae is a matter of no weight whatever. The monks no doubt gave them a quasi-religious sense ("Lord, forgive," Ἄν'[1] ἄνες. "Yea, forgive." "Holy one," etc.). But the two most remarkable facts are, firstly, that these formulae seem to go back in their origin to the ancient Greek syllables used for similar purposes; and, secondly, that these Byzantine formulae reappear in the works of western theorists, where they are used, in more or less corrupt guises, to denote the Gregorian modes. Thus we have evidence both of the direct descent of the Byzantine modes from the diatonic species of ancient Greece, and also of their substantial identity with the modes of western Europe. Even if a more detailed similarity would be difficult to prove, the fact of such a general correspondence is of great importance.[2]

GAISSER'S THEORY.

We have so far assumed that the notes used in the Byzantine modes (with the exception of an occasional *b*-flat) answer to the white keys on the piano. But this view, though usual, is not accepted on all hands. In the opinion of Gaisser, most of the authentic modes need a signature of two or even three flats.[3] His interesting and ably-propounded theory is due to the desire of reconciling in one system the traditional tonality of the modern Greek Church, the usage of outlying Graeco-Albanian[4] and South Slavonic religious bodies,[5] and finally the ancient Greek names of the modes. Thus for example, Mode I., as used in the ritual of the

[1] Vocative of ἄναξ.

[2] This question has been discussed by Fleischer, *loc. cit.*, at full length. Rebours, *op. cit.* pp. 279 ff., also gives many data for the mediaeval practice with regard to this matter. For the relations between the Byzantine and ancient Greek formulae, see Riemann, *Zeitschr. d. internat. Musikgesellsch.* 1913, p. 273. Too much stress ought not perhaps to be laid on the survival of formulae so easily corrupted. But the result of Riemann's acute observations strengthens the case for the view here adopted.

Some mediaeval exercises on these formulae are given both by Rebours, *loc. cit.*, and also by Fleischer, App. C, p. 3 *seqq.* Cf. also Gastoué, *op. cit.* p. 29.

The fact that the Gregorian modes were also enumerated by the Greek ordinal numbers, protus, deuterus, etc., is another proof of their similarity to the Byzantine modes.

[3] See his works *La Musique ecclés. gr. d'après la Tradition*; and *Les Heirmoi de Pâques.*

[4] See *Rassegna Gregoriana*, Fasc. 9–10, 1905, p, 5. The Graeco-Albanian hymns are in many cases of great beauty and well worth preserving.

[5] Slavonic versions of the Easter Canon are given in Gaisser's *Heirmoi de Pâques*, pp. 18 etc.

Albanian colonies in Sicily, generally has, if starting on *d*, the signature of two flats. The name of this mode in later mediaeval handbooks is given as Dorian, while if we transposed the ancient Greek Dorian mode a tone lower, we should have exactly the same scale. Attractive as this theory undoubtedly is, no other writer of importance has accepted it;[1] and, in view of the somewhat indirect nature of the evidence, it seems safer to concur in the more orthodox explanation. Certain minor objections may also be noted. (1) The names given to the modes in the Middle Ages, though borrowed from ancient Greek, are applied with great inconsistency and confusion by different theorists.[2] In fact we are tempted to believe that respect for antiquity, rather than any clear analogy, was the cause of this nomenclature. (2) Small communities using Greek ritual may have been influenced on the musical side by the practice of their occidental neighbours. (3) Theoretical writers on the modern Byzantine modes disagree so much that any exact reasoning from their statements can hardly be trusted.

VARIETIES OF THE MODES: THE CHROMATIC ELEMENT.

In late MSS. an offshoot of Mode IV., with a peculiar signature, sometimes occurs. It is seldom treated as an independent mode, in which a whole hymn could be set; but more often is used by way of transition, the original mode, to which the music finally returns, being one of the standard eight. This variety, under the name of *Legetos*, survives to the present day and is still classed as a form of Mode IV. The scale is *e–e'* on the white notes.

We have now to explain the name. Some writers say that *Legetos* is derived from λέγε ΤΩ, *i.e.* "sing TO"[3]—a syllable in the ancient Greek solmisation. The latter, however, had been forgotten for many centuries when the *Legetos* appeared, and had been replaced by the mediaeval system of *Ananes* etc., of which mention has already been made. We venture to suggest that the signature is a monogram for ΛΥ(ΔΙΟC) Τ(ΟΝ)ΟS, *i.e.* Lydian mode, the name of Mode II. in the *Papadiké*. The reason for the shifting of the name probably was that chromatic elements had invaded the second mode and the original diatonic was banished into the fourth mode. The contraction was then easily misunderstood. For an example see below, p. 145, No. 4.

[1] Riemann, *d. byz. Notenschr.*, p. 46, protests against Gaisser's theory, but does not refute it in detail.

[2] The discrepancies between mediaeval accounts of the modes are well displayed in the table given by W. Christ and Paranikas, *Anthol.* p. cxx. This should convince anyone of the futility of basing any argument on such names. Riemann, *op. cit.* p. 2, also discusses the matter. His view of the *Martyriae* on p. 5 is mistaken, as I have tried to prove in *Byz. Zeitschr.* xx. p. 433.

[3] Apparently ΤΩ would have meant *g*, not *e*, a further argument against the traditional explanation.

THE PHTHORAE OR MODULANTS.

It is agreed by all theorists that chromatic alterations in Byzantine music were indicated by signs called *Phthora* (plural *Phthorae*, in Greek φθορά : φθοραί). For this we may use the word "modulant." The earliest documents, such as the fragment of a handbook from Laura on Mt. Athos,[1] only know two forms, called *Phthora* and *Hemiphthora.* The difference between these two is uncertain: possibly the *Phthora* affected a whole phrase, while the "half-modulant" only touched the note over which it stood. At this early stage therefore any chromatic change was marked by one or other of these signs. But the later manual, the *Papadiké*, has a modulant for every mode, plagal and authentic, besides a special *Phthora* for the *Nenano.* This, by general consent, is taken to be the chromatic mode, which at the present time has the same *Phthora* as in the Middle Ages.

Except in very late MSS. we seldom find a whole hymn using the *Nenano;* but modulations into it are frequently made, especially from Mode II. plagal (which at the present day is chromatic throughout), though also from Mode II., Mode I. plagal, and rarely from others. The earliest example of this modulant known to me is in the Paris MS., Coislin, 220, written in the Linear System and dated about 1200. The scale in question, if approached from Mode II. or II. plagal, was as follows:—

e . *f* *g* ♭*a* ♮*b* *c′* *d′* (*e′* · ♯*f′*) etc.,

if from Mode I. plagal, as follows:—

d ♭*e* ♯*f* *g* *a* ♭*b* ♯*c′* *d′*

The growing popularity of this species in the later Middle Ages is very likely due to oriental influence, as Arabic and Turkish music are both fond of it. But originally it may well have been a development of the ancient Greek chromatic genus, which seems to have survived to the very end of classical times together with the diatonic.

Except for the *Nenano*, the remaining modulants are of extremely rare occurrence in mediaeval music. They are chiefly used as warnings to the singer to keep to the original mode; or, if the melody has passed beyond the usual compass of any particular mode, to indicate that an

[1] *B.S.A.* xix. 101.

automatic transition has been made into a new mode. The modulant is always that of the mode approached, not that of the mode quitted.[1] It must, however, be understood that modulations into extreme keys, such as are at least theoretically possible in the modern system, are wholly outside the purview of mediaeval Greek musicians; and also that when the signature (not the *Phthora*) of some mode other than the original one is used at a medial cadence, nothing is meant beyond a momentary pause upon the *Finalis* of the new mode, the melody proceeding normally, just as if no internal signature had been inserted.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN BYZANTINE AND ORIENTAL MUSIC.

All the types of Byzantine mode so far described, whether chromatic or not, can be played with sufficient accuracy on our modern keyed instruments, and sung without difficulty by western singers. We have thus assumed that the scale of the Byzantines was tuned to a temperament little different from our own: that is to say, it consisted of tones and semitones and excluded irrational intervals. This assumption is made as a matter of course by most western writers. Only Gastoué seems to favour the opposite view—namely, that the complicated interval-schemes of the present day, partly chromatic, partly enharmonic, were a legacy from ancient Greece to the mediaeval Eastern Church.[2] That the Greek Church uses non-diatonic scales at the present time cannot be doubted by anyone who has heard the service in any of the smaller monasteries or churches.[3] It is only in a few city churches that a European style of singing (often in four parts) has gained a place.

THE PARALLAGE OR SOL-FA.

This (a useful invention of Chrysanthus) is made up of the first seven letters of the Greek alphabet. Every vowel receives a consonant, and *vice versâ*, the syllables being—

πA Βου Γα Δι κE Ζω νH

[1] The ingenious pleadings of Riemann on this point, (*die byz. Notenschr.*, pp. 11 ff), seem to me entirely wide of the mark. In the passages cited by him from Fleischer's *Neumenstudien* (Riemann, p. 14) a confusion between the modulants of Modes I. and III. invalidates the argument.

[2] *Op. cit.* 28, etc.

[3] This is denied by one Greek theorist, Margarites, **Θεωρητικὴ καὶ Πρακτικὴ Ἐκκλ. Μουσική**, Constantinople, 1851, who holds that the Greek scales use only European intervals. But the view of Chrysanthus (founder of the modern system) was generally accepted in the Levant, until more recent western influence came in.

In future we shall give them in Roman letters. The following are their musical values :—

d	*e*	*f*	*g*	*a*	*b*	*c'*
pa	vou	gha	dhi	ke	zo	ni

THE MARTYRIAE OR SIGNATURES OF THE MODES.

The signature implies both the number of the mode and the note taken as starting-point for the melody. Such a note may be called by its Latin name *Finalis,* since it is, as a rule, also the cadential note.

The signature always consists of two parts: (*a*) a syllable, or letter from the Sol-fa (giving the *Finalis*), and (*b*) a conventional symbol of long-forgotten and in some cases obscure origin, denoting the number of the mode. (These signs, as already explained, were at the outset numerical, being the first four letters of the alphabet, used as numbers; and we shall give them as such in our musical examples.)

Thus, in Mode I., the symbol ϙ (a conventional form of *a*) is used; if we are to begin on *a*, the letter κ, initial of ke, is added; if from *d*, the letter π, initial of pa—as this mode admits either *a* or *d* as *Finalis*—and similarly with the other modes. For the plagal modes the letters πλ or $\frac{\lambda}{\pi}$ are added (initials of πλάγιος, plagal).

THE MODES IN THE CHRYSANTHINE SYSTEM WITH EXAMPLES.

We shall tabulate and explain the modern modes in order, following the most widely accepted forms and avoiding minute details. As the accounts of theorists often disagree, and there are signs of irremediable confusion and overlapping of modes, it is impossible to classify every peculiarity.[1] In singing, even Greek precentors allow themselves considerable freedom.

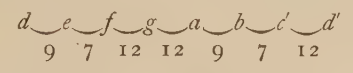
MODE I.

This belongs to the 'diatonic' species, which is described by Chrysanthus and his followers somewhat as follows. The octave is divided into 68 fractions or points. Of these 12 make a major tone, 9 a minor tone, and 7 a minimum tone. On the same principle our tone and semitone (equal temperament) would be $11\frac{1}{3}$ and $5\frac{2}{3}$ points respectively. Thus the Greek scale is not in accord with our own

[1] I have generally followed Chrysanthus, the author of the modern notation. See his Θεωρητικὸν μέγα τῆς μουσικῆς (Trieste, 1832: reprint, Athens, 1911.)

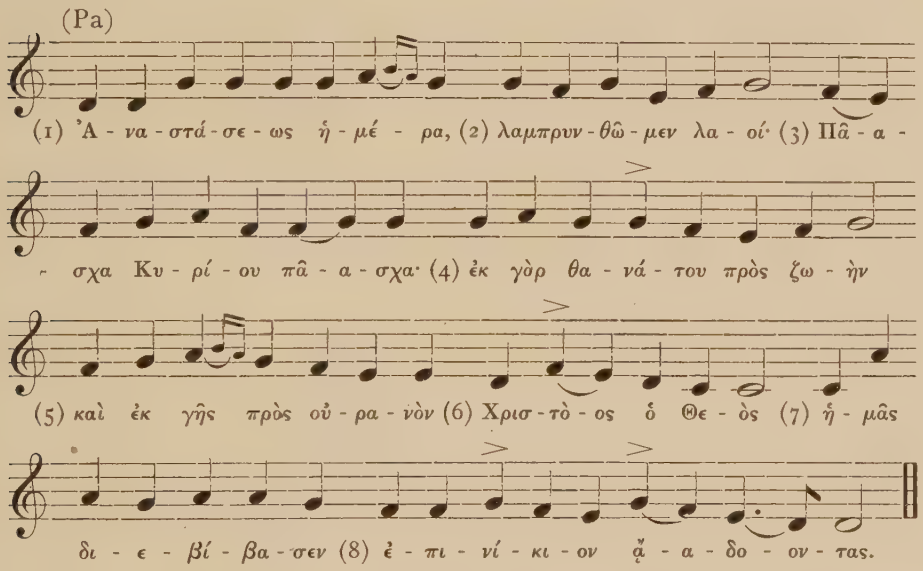
and cannot be played on our keyed instruments. Singers who have come under western influence tend to ignore this difference and to make both major and minor tones equal to our whole tones, and the minimum tone to our semitone. (On a first hearing the Greek scale simply sounds out of tune.)

The first mode will therefore be as follows:



In descent *b*-flat is usual. The compass is not restricted to one octave, extension both ways being allowed; *d* is the usual *Finalis*. For middle cadences *f* and *g* are also used. Our example is the first ode of the Canon for Easter, words by S. John of Damascus from the *Hirmologium* of Johannes Protopsaltes, Constantinople, 1875.

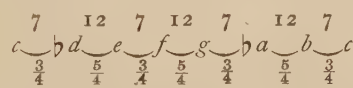
It will be noticed that the repetition of a vowel has no effect on the time, but is simply a device to aid the singer's memory, or at most to guide him in voice production.



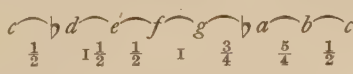
MODE II.

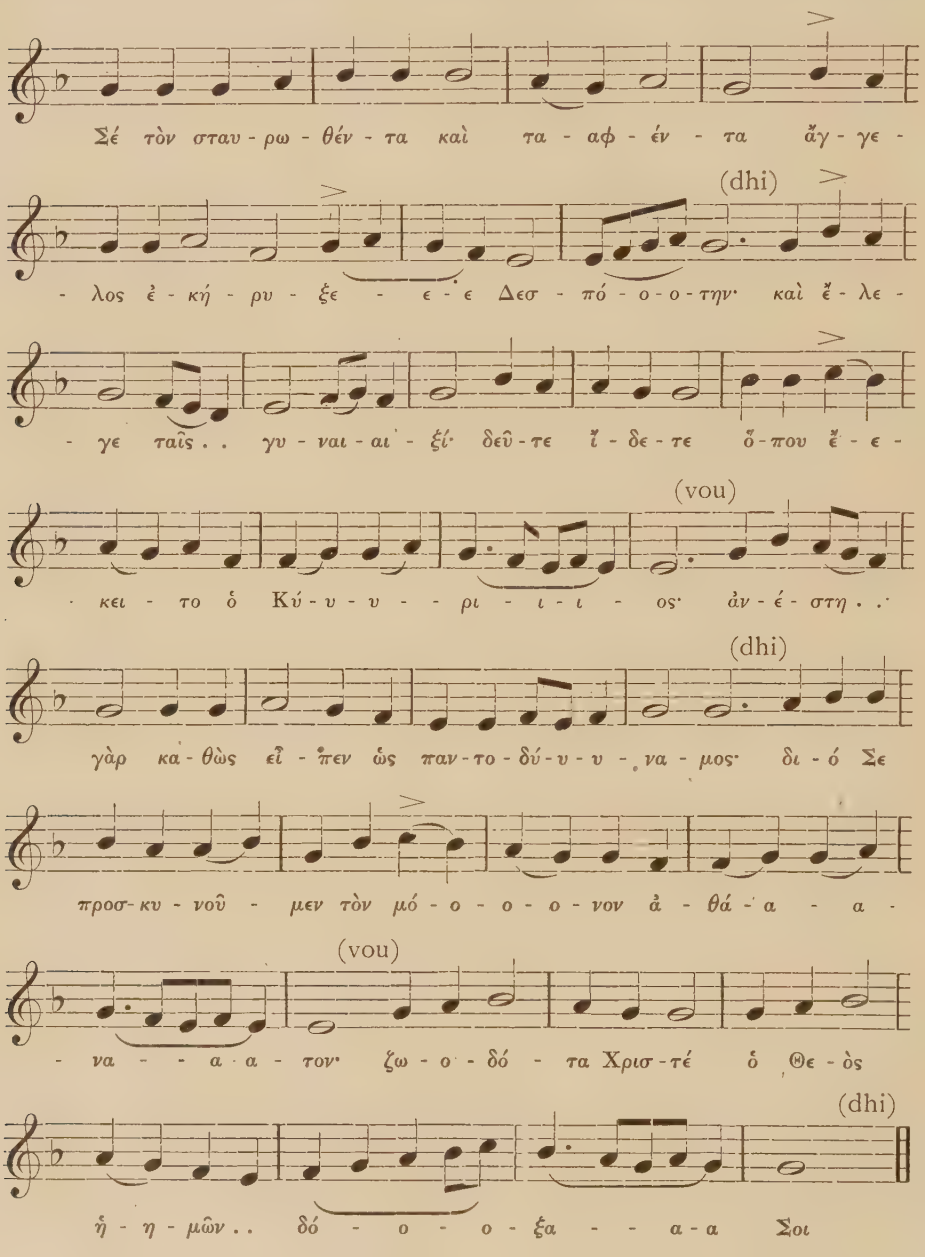
The second mode is classed as 'chromatic' and according to Chrysanthus has the following scale:—

approximately



This series of irrational intervals is usually modified somewhat as follows:—

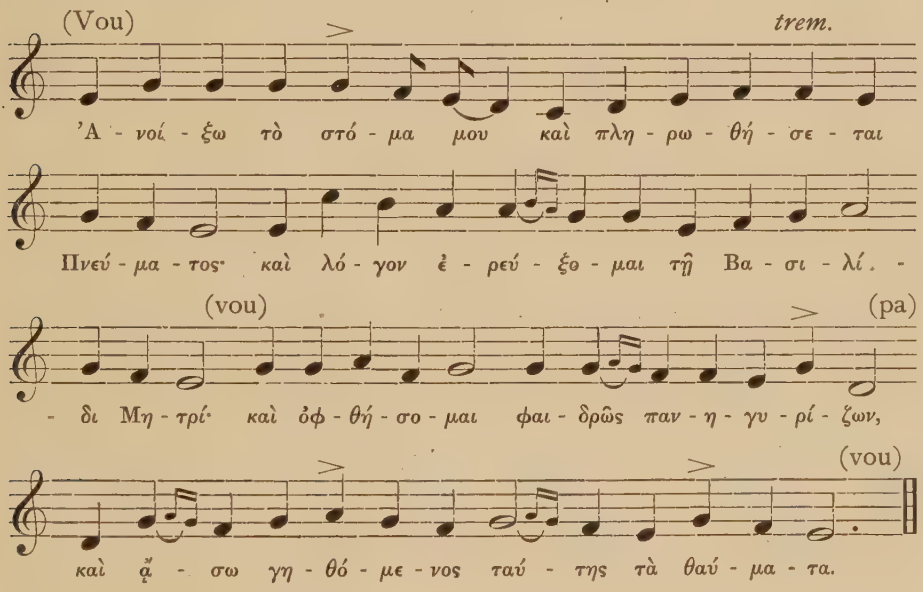


In other words the note ♭*a* is kept slightly sharp (we may write ♯*a*), but the rest of the scale is simplified. Our example is a short quotation from the Resurrection Verses, or *Stichera Anastasima*. Sakellarides, **Ἱερὰ Ὑμνωδία**, 73.

MODE III.

This mode, though classed by Chrysanthus as 'enharmonic,' is in practice identical with the scale of *f* major. Chrysanthus regards the whole-tones as major tones (12 or 13 points) and the intervening sounds as quarter-tones (other authors say thirds of tones). But as usage is entirely against him, we shall not concern ourselves further with this discrepancy. Finalis *f*; middle cadences are made on *a* and *d*, which then have the same signatures as in Mode I.; also sometimes on *g*. (For an example v. *Musical Antiquary*, Jan. 1911.)

MODE IV.

This has two chief forms: (1) From *e*; it is then called *Legetos* (λέγετος). The example is the first verse in the Canon of the Acathistus. From Nicolas Georgiou, **Δοξαστικάριον** (Athens, 1895), p. 202. (2) From *g*; or from *d*. The scale is 'diatonic' as in Mode I.; and the same modulants are used.



MODE I., PLAGAL.

This has the same scale as the first authentic and uses the same signatures, with the addition, where desired, of the abbreviation, $\frac{\lambda}{\pi}$ for 'plagal.' Middle cadences are made on *g*, *a*, and (in hirmological hymns)[1] on *c*. The *Finalis* is mostly *d*, rarely *a*. Occasionally *b* is lowered rather more than a semitone. Otherwise *b*-natural is usually found; but *b*-flat may be freely introduced.

[1] *I.e.* hymns in quick time without florid passages.

Mode II., Plagal.

(1) Here we find a characteristic and very popular scale

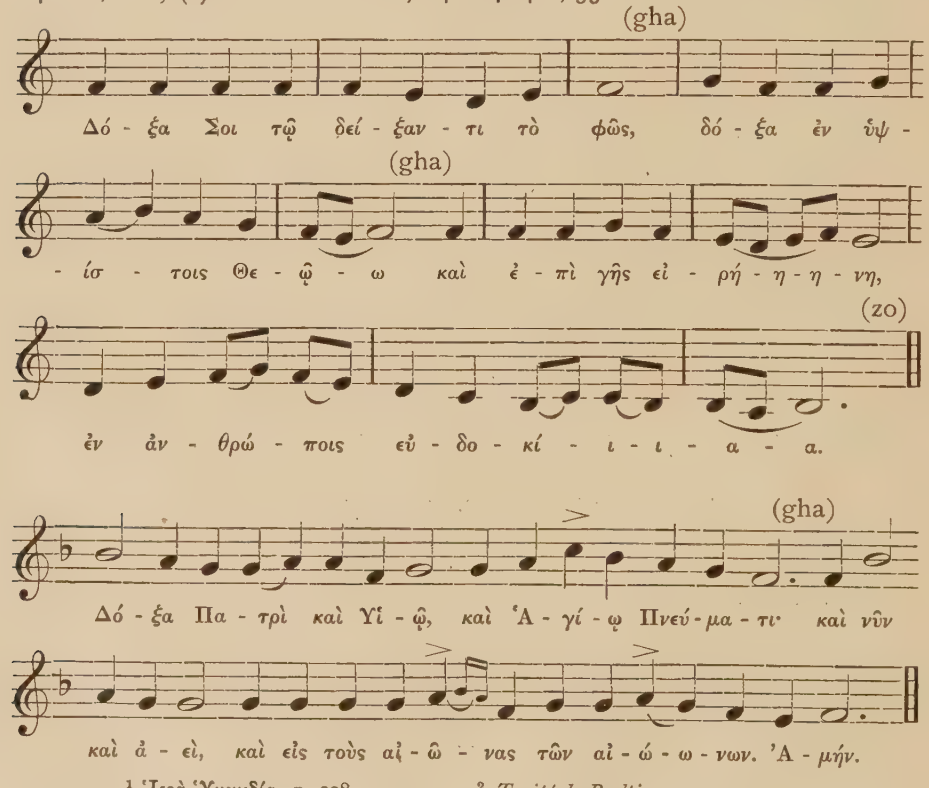
belonging to the 'chromatic' species. *Finalis d.* (2) Mixed: lower tetrachord as above; upper diatonic *a*, ♭*b*, *c'*, *d'*.

This variety is especially common in folksongs, both Greek and Turkish. An example occurs below. (3) Hirmological form = Mode II. authentic.

Mode III., Plagal. The Deep Mode (*Barys*).

This has two forms: (1) Papadical and 'ancient' Sticherarical: diatonic from low *b*. Theorists differ as to the precise notes to be used. Sakellarides[1] prescribes no signature, but mentions a chromatic variety with *a*-flat; otherwise Rebours.[2] (2) Practically the same as the third authentic mode—our *f* major. Chrysanthus indeed says that the interval *a*—*b*-flat is now a minimum tone instead of a quarter-tone; but this difference is not usually upheld.

Our examples are both from doxologies. Form (1) from Sakellarides, **Ἱερὰ Ὑμνωδία, 228**; (2) from Sakellarides, **Ἱερὰ Ἑβδομάς, 33.**



[1] Ἱερὰ Ὑμνῳδία, p. 208. [2] *Traité de Psaltique*, pp. 115–119.

MODE IV., PLAGAL.

This belongs to the 'diatonic' species and has *c* as its *Finalis*. It should therefore use the series of intervals already given under Mode I. But in practice it is sung like our *c* major with frequent accidental *b*-flat. Some writers even declare this to be the *only* Byzantine mode that western musicians can understand.

In long hymns, the composer will pass freely from one mode to another, using the various modulants and signatures. Such a course is natural; but it is more perplexing to find a piece sung entirely out of its proper mode. In such cases the initial signature is of less importance than the modulation-signs, which must be carefully followed in order to divine the composer's intentions.

EVIDENCE FOR THE EASTERN ORIGIN OF THE MODERN SYSTEM.

Having thus explained the Chrysanthine tone-system, we would now suggest that its peculiarities are capable of a very simple explanation. *The whole fabric is not Greek at all, but Oriental.* This does not mean that no genuine Byzantine melodies have survived. On the contrary, I am convinced that a great many have come down more or less intact by oral tradition, and are now enshrined in the printed books. But the *theoretical* basis of the modern scales is borrowed from the East.

A few arguments may be given in support of this view:—

(1) Some Greek writers actually apply the Arabo-Turkish names to the Byzantine modes. This is done regularly by Christodulus Georgiades,[1] a follower of Chrysanthus. Moreover, the latter carefully tabulates the Turkish scales or *maqams* in his own symbols, thus shewing that these signs could perfectly express Oriental varieties of the scale.[2] Such works on Arabo-Turkish and Arabian music as I have been able to study do not entirely agree among themselves. But they give proof enough of the substantial identity of the Chrysanthine system with their own.

The most authoritative account of the Arabian modes is given by A. Z. Idelsohn.[3] Slightly differing views are taken by Kiesewetter,[4] Helmholz, Riemann, and Chilesotti.[5] A note on the Turkish scale is supplied by J. Thibaut.[6] From this we can infer (1) that the names of the Turkish modes agree in the main with the Arabian, (2) that the

[1] Δοκίμιον ἐκκλησ. μελῶν: Athens, 1856.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 84.
[3] *I.M.G. Sammelbände* (*Quarterly Mag. of Internat. Mus. Soc.*), year XV. Pt. 1, p. 1.
[4] Kiesewetter, R. G., *d. Musik d. Araber.*
[5] Chilesotti, O., *I.M.G. Sammelbände*, year III. p. 595.
[6] Thibaut, J., *Revue Musicale, S.I.M.*, 15th Feb. 1910 (French section of Internat. Mus. Soc.

principle of major, minor, and minimum tones as the basis of the diatonic scale is common to Turkish and Chrysanthine theory.

The correspondence of modes and *maqams* is shewn below. From it we see that Georgiades, a Greek musician, is deliberately and consciously writing Arabo-Turkish music in Byzantine notation.

Georgiades.		Turkish Maqams in Chrysanthus.	Notes of Turkish Scale in Thibaut.	Arab Maqams (Idelsohn).
Mode.	Name.			
I.	Πουσελίκι... ...	Μπουσελίκ	Puzelik	Buselik.
II.	Σὲτ ἀραμπάν ...	(deest.)	——	——
III.	Ἀτζὲμ ἀσιράν ...	ἀτζὲμ ἀσιράν	'Adjam Ashiran ...	'Aschiran.
IV.	σεγκιάχ	σεγκιάχ	Segia	Siga (?).
I. Pl.	Ἀτζὲμ γκιουρδί ...	Κιουρδί...	Kurdi	——
II. Pl.	ζεργκιουλὲ Χιτζάζ	Χιτζάζ	Hedjaz	Hagiz.
Barys	πεστενιγκιάρι ...	——	Pest Hisarek (?) ...	Bastanakar.
IV. Pl.	σουζινάκι	——	Suzidil (?)	Suznak.

(2) Chrysanthus invented several chromatic signs, in addition to what he found in mediaeval MSS. Thus, besides inventing signs for our *sharp* and *flat* (the idea of which he seems to have borrowed from the West) he has provided new *phthorae* for modifications of $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tone. It follows that there was something in his music for which the existing symbols did not supply any expression. New features had come into singing and had to be embodied in the new notation. Now in the early nineteenth century most of the Greek world had been continuously under oriental sway for many ages. The Greeks, an inventive, artistic race, had been making music for the Turks, just as their ancestors had done for the Romans. But the Turks demanded oriental music, which the Greeks were obliged to learn. We are expressly told that Petrus Peloponnesius, who recomposed many Greek hymns, also wrote Turkish secular songs. In this way the eastern non-diatonic scales invaded Byzantine music.[1]

(3) It is well known that the ancient Greek enharmonic genus was obsolete many centuries before the invention of the Byzantine notation. This genus was always held to be difficult and better suited to professional musicians than to ordinary singers. To suppose, therefore, that such a

[1] For this musician (who died in 1777, after a brilliant musical career at Constantinople and elsewhere) see Papadopoulos, G., **Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλ. Μουσικῆς**, 318 ff. The various stories told of him all point to the intimate connexion between Byzantine and Oriental music at that epoch.

scale, after persisting exclusively in popular tradition throughout the Middle Ages, should suddenly emerge on the evocation of Chrysanthus (whose account of it is quite incorrect) seems an incredibly far-fetched explanation.

(4) The remarks of mediaeval theorists on the nature of the modes are very scanty. In the *Papadiké* we have nothing but the list of their ancient Greek names; and this, as has been seen, differs from the nomenclature of other authorities. The most important writer on music, Manuel Bryennius (early fourteenth century), was more concerned with the ancient Greek system than with the usage of his own day. A detailed study of his work has been published by W. Christ,[1] who discusses it in connexion with the musical theory of Chrysanthus. From this it appears that the system of Bryennius was diatonic, consisting of normal tones and semitones. The difference between greater and lesser tones he regards as purely theoretical, being so slight that the human ear could not perceive it. Chrysanthus seems to have borrowed the same terminology to describe the irrational scale of his own system, where the greater tone is nearly $\frac{5}{4}$ of a normal tone, and the lesser tone about $\frac{3}{4}$, the two sounding of course perfectly distinct to any ear.

(5) The evidence of Greek Folksongs. Greek musicians deserve our thanks and praise for their zeal in collecting folksongs, in which the country is still very rich; several collections have been published in book form, while single specimens often appear in magazines. Here, unfortunately, the two chief editors disagree on the very point now at issue. Pachtikos[2] declares that the songs can be expressed in European notation as containing no irrational intervals. With equal assurance Psachos[3] explains that his versions in our notation are nothing but rough approximations, the true scales being quite unlike our own. Both scholars have a high reputation in their own land and have done valuable work. In such a case we must refer to the few European musicians who have studied the subject; and their verdict is in favour of Pachtikos.[4] From

[1] *Sitzungsberichte d. k. bayerischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1870, vol. ii. pp. 241–270. (A lucid and valuable study.) In the Appendices W. Christ published the *Papadiké*, from a Vienna MS., but failed to discover in it the key to the Round System of notation.

[2] Παχτικός, Γ. Α. 260 Δημώδη Ἑλληνικά Ἄισματα (Athens, 1905).

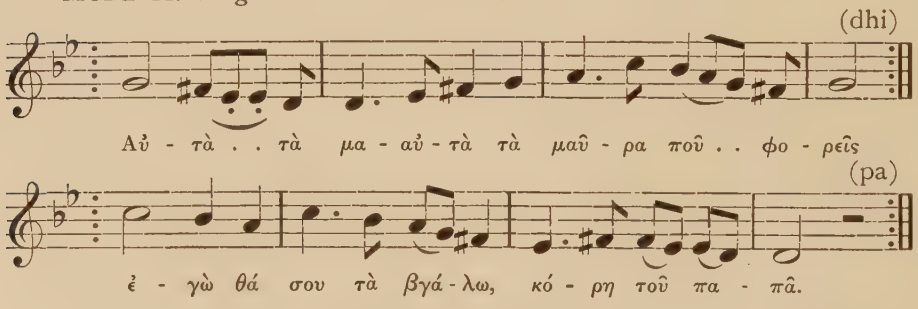
[3] Folksongs from Scyros. Δημώδη Ἄισματα Σκύρου.

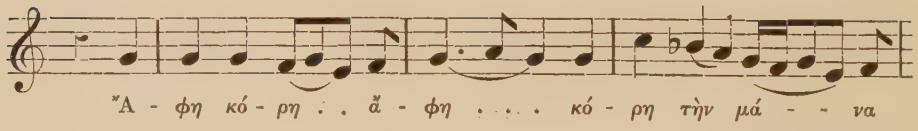
[4] Thus Burgault-Ducoudray (a man of unimpeachable judgment, himself a composer) has edited Greek folksongs (*Trente Mélodies Populaires de Grèce*, etc.) and states that there are no irrational intervals in them. Pernot, *Île de Chio*, gives a phonographic series of folksongs from

the evidence of his own ears any traveller in Greece would form a view similar to the above. The singing of the peasants may not always be mathematically in tune, but it does not sound unintelligible and has quite a different effect from what may be heard in the coffee-houses of Tunis or Cairo. Few scholars, however, would dare in any case to maintain that modern Greek popular music has come straight down from antiquity. On the contrary it has a certain likeness to Turkish and other Balkan music.[1] But at least it cannot be adduced to prove the presence of irrational intervals in the Byzantine scale.

In our examples we transcribe three Greek folksongs, which have not yet appeared in European notation. The larger collections of Pachtikos and others would repay close study by western musicians.

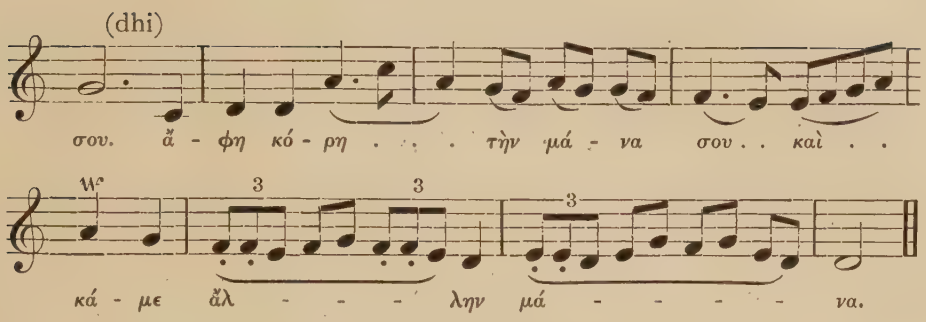
MODERN GREEK FOLKSONGS.

1. Dance—Συρτός: from *Phorminx* series, p. 31, No. 5.
MODE II. Plagal: mixed chromatic.

2. Wedding Song: from Cromne in Pontus[2] (*Phorminx* series).
MODE I.

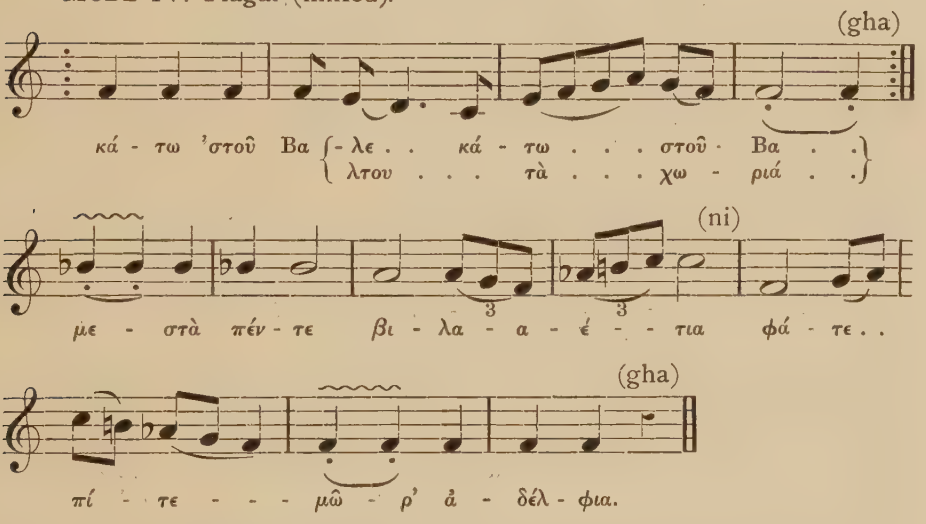


Chios: here too the scales are normal. A few examples noted by O. Heilig, *Sammelbände d. I.M.G.* 4th year, 1902–3, pp. 293 ff., are similar in character; while a more elaborate collection by L. Bürchner (friend and collaborator of Pachtikos) shews nothing irrational in the tonality. We are not of course doubting the accuracy of so able a musician as M. Psachos, whose examples, from the remote island of Scyros, may well have had peculiarities of their own. (See Bürchner, L., *Sammelbände, I.M.G.* 3rd year (April–June, 1902), p. 403.)

[1] Those who heard the lecture-recital of Serbian Folksongs given by Miss V. Edwards at Cambridge at the close of the summer school for Russian studies (Aug. 1916) may have noted the likeness of these songs to those of Greece.

[2] Another version with different words, v. Pachtikos, p. 54.

3. From Metsovo near Trebizond (*Phorminx* series).

MODE IV. Plagal (mixed).



We are thus led to conclude that the oriental traits in Byzantine music are not part of the mediaeval system, but a later accretion. This, however, does not imply that any reform of Greek Church music would be bound to expel them. The traditional singing is dear to many Greeks; and European musicians are unqualified to pronounce upon its artistic merits. Apart from the possible inclusion of irrational elements in western music—at which some modern composers are understood to have aimed—the historical interest of the Chrysanthine system remains, and no revival of a more classical and perhaps purer mediaeval tradition need overthrow anything of value in contemporary practice; whatever changes may be

needed can only be carried out by the Greeks themselves. Our concern is with the past; and the discussion now ended has led us, through much confusion and doubt, back to the orthodox belief in the general likeness between Gregorian and Byzantine music.

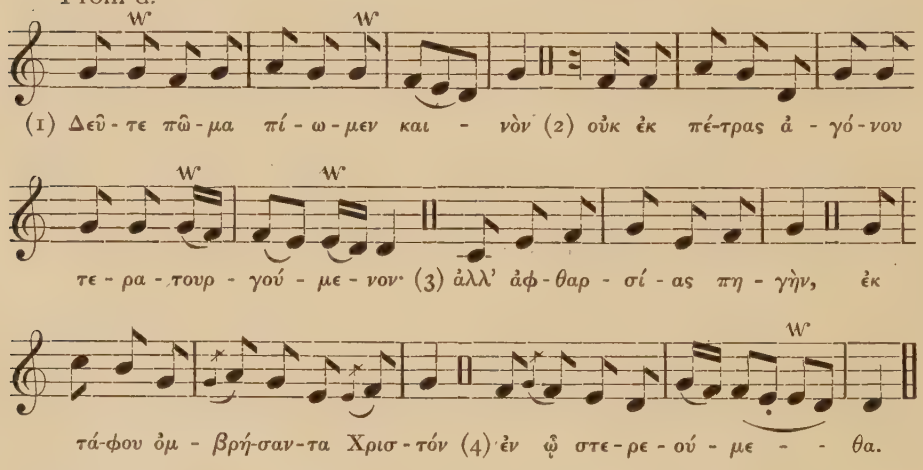
EXAMPLES OF THE MEDIAEVAL BYZANTINE MODES ACCORDING TO THE SYSTEM ADOPTED IN THE PRESENT ARTICLE.

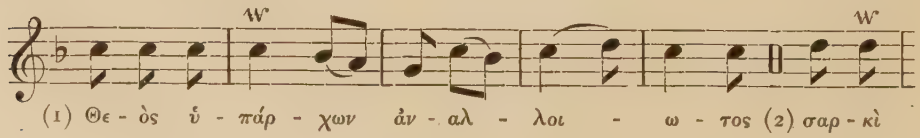
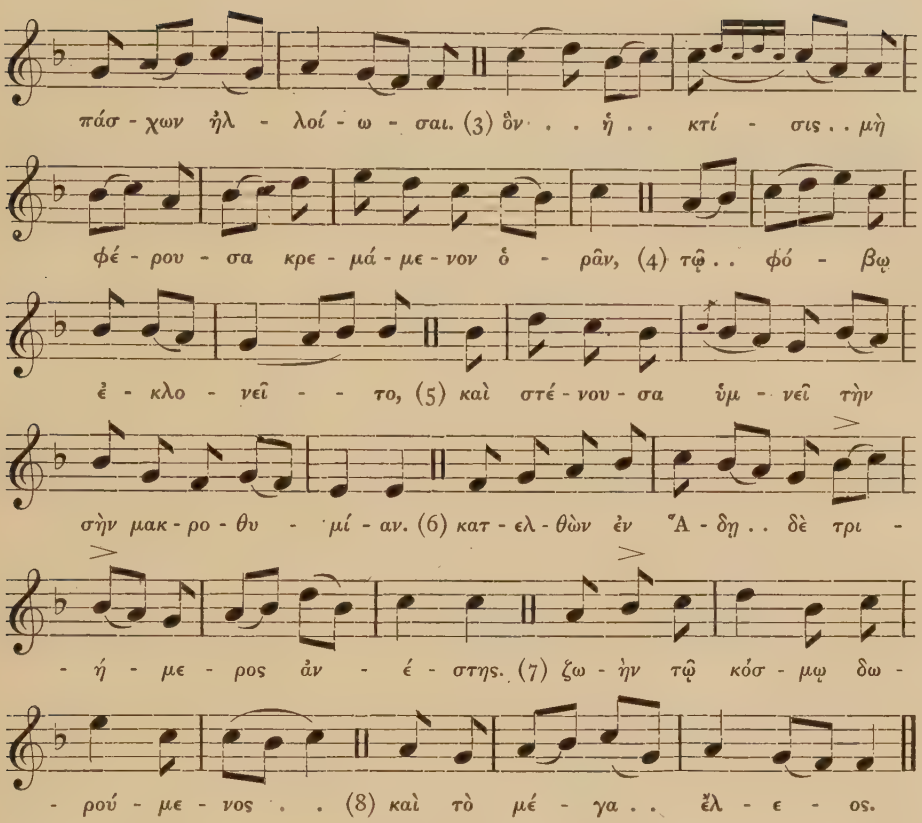
Mode I. see *B.S.A.* xxi. 138 ff. Mode II. *ibid.* 132. Mode IV. *ibid.* 143.

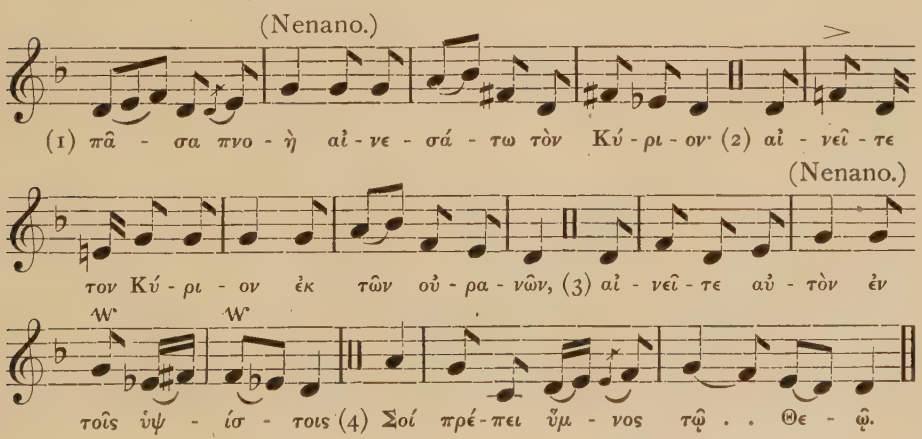
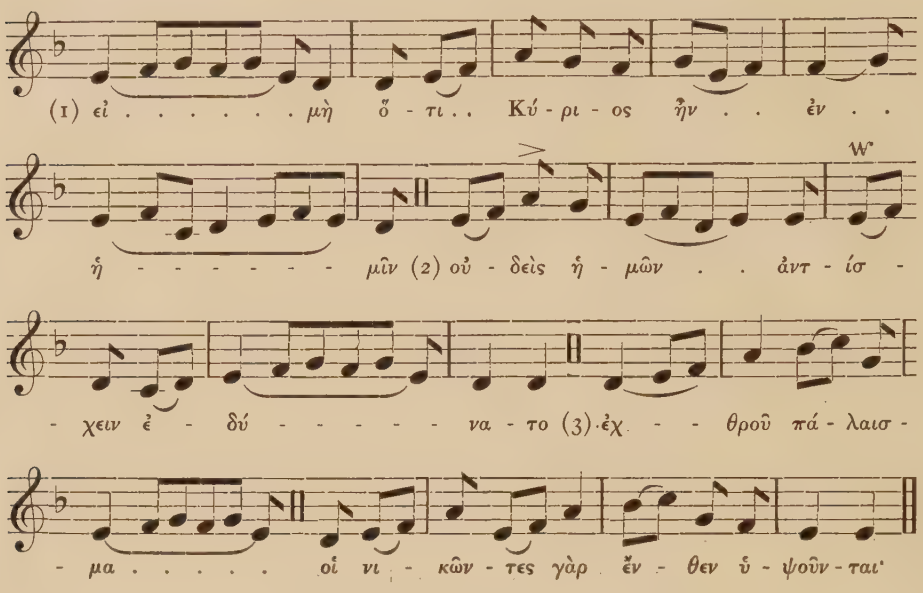
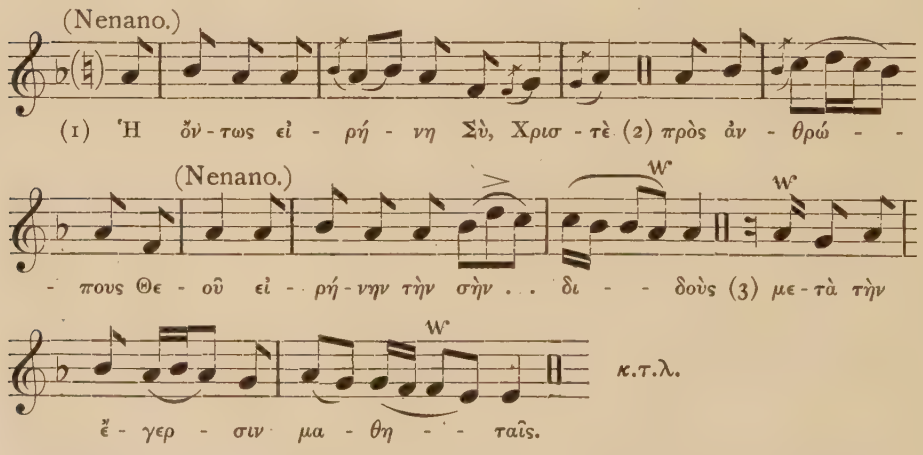
MODE I, late mediæval or Cucuzelian system. Facsimile in Gaisser, *Heirmoi de Pâques*, 87. Canon for Easter by S. John of Damascus, Ode III.

(The likeness to the modern type of this Mode, as shewn in Ex. 1, p. 143, above, will be noted.)

From d.

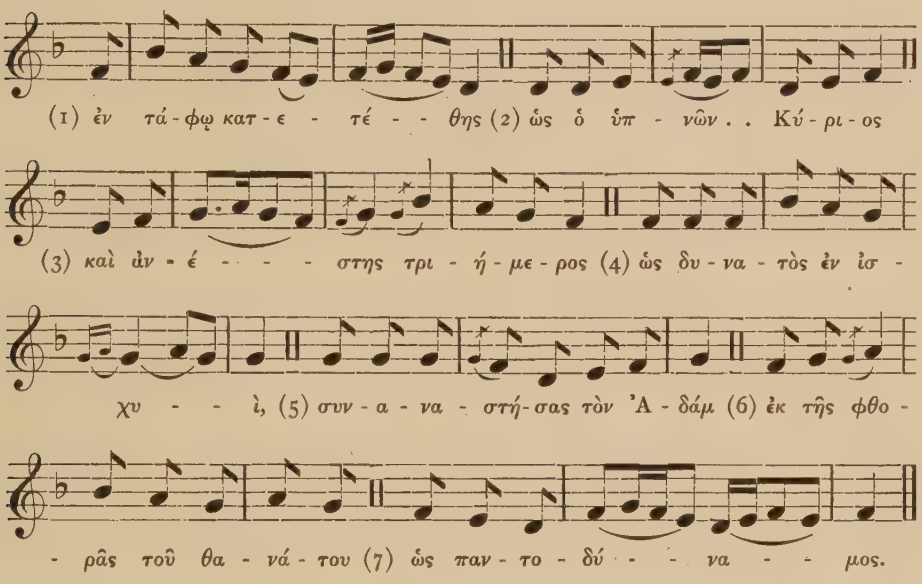


MODE III. From *Stichera Anastasima.* Cod. Athon. Vatopedi. 288, f. 362.



MODE I. Plagal (mixed chromatic form). Cantab. Biblioth. Acad. Cod. Ad. 3051, f. 1 (Cucuzelian system). Part of Antiphone = Ps. 150.

MODE II. Plagal: Diatonic. Cod. Athon. Vatopedi, 288, f. 372. Part of Antiphone = Ps. 124.

MODE II. Plagal: Chromatic. [1] Cod. Moreatae f. 66. Cucuz. System. From *Eothina* of Leo.

This hymn, of which only a few bars are given, is probably chromatic throughout.

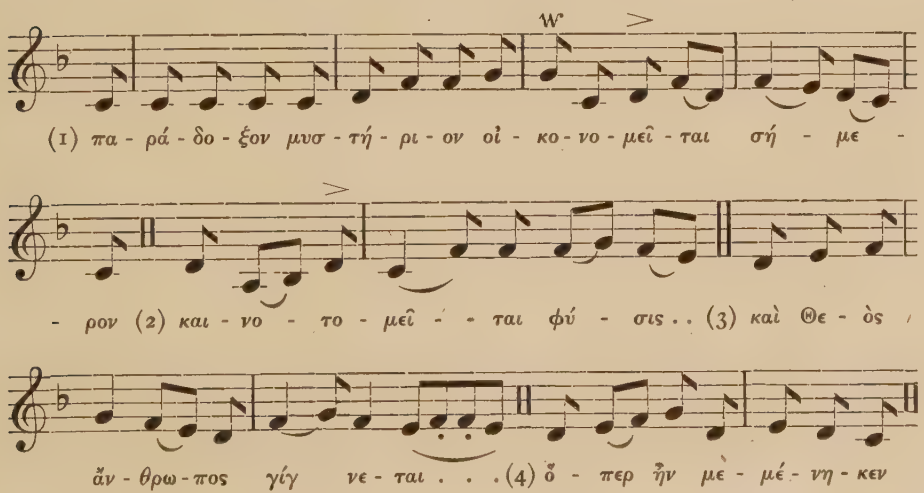
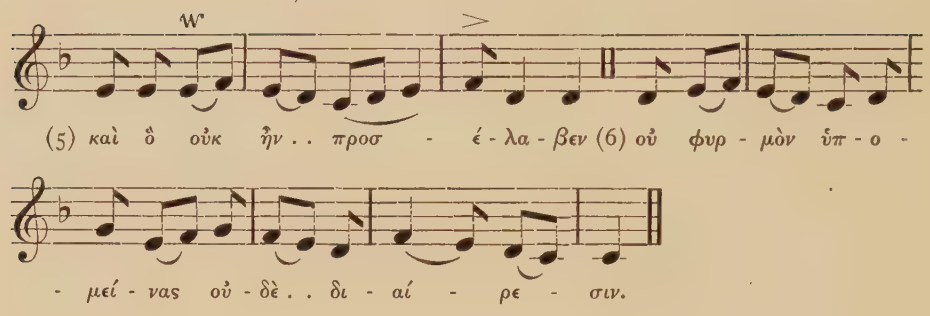
[1] For this MS. see *B.S.A.* xxi. 134.

MODE III. Plagal: Ἦχος Βαρύς. From *Stichera Anastasima*, Cod. Moreatae f. 51.



HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS.

MODE IV. Plagal. Cod. Cantab. Trinitatis, B. 11, 17.



H. J. W. TILLYARD

THE MOSQUES OF THE ARABS IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

(PLATE V.)

TWO mosques in Galata—the Mosque of the Arabs (*Arab Djami*) and the Mosque of the Leaded Store (*Kurshunlu Maghzen Djamisi*)—lay claim to be the earliest buildings consecrated to Moslem worship in Constantinople. Both are supposed to date from the period of the Arab sieges, many centuries before the Ottoman conquest. Their traditional claim to this honourable pedigree is of some antiquity. Evliya Effendi, in the middle of the seventeenth century, already attributes an Arab origin to four buildings in Galata, of which two are the mosques in question and the others a lead-roofed granary (*Kurshunlu Maghzen*), still used as such in his time,[1] and the famous Galata Tower.[2] All these, and in addition the Rose Mosque (*Gul-Djami*) in Stamboul,[3] are supposed to have been built during the famous siege of Constantinople by the Arabs under Maslama.

The Tower of Galata and the Rose Mosque being undoubtedly Christian buildings, the historical accuracy of Evliya's information may reasonably be called in question as to the other reputed Arab buildings of Constantinople. In the case of the best known of the two Galata Mosques (*Arab Djami*), the Arab origin of which is, if not asserted, at least considered as a possibility by several serious writers, sufficient information has come down to us to allow the elements of history and tradition to be disentangled.

[1] *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, i. 1, 167. [2] *Ibid.* i. 2, 49.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 1, 24. Evliya states that the Rose Mosque, having become a church, was turned over to the Moslems as the price of Bayezid II.'s retirement from Constantinople. Bayezid made a demand of this sort in 1391, but it was not complied with (Ducas, 49 B). For the real history of the Mosque (S. Theodosia) see van Millingen's *Churches of Constantinople*, pp. 164 ff.

§ 1.—ARAB DJAMI AND ITS TRADITIONS.

The 'Mosque of the Arabs' stands on low ground not far from the shore of the Golden Horn between the inner and outer bridges. Its remarkable minaret, in reality a church tower with a short wooden spire, was till recently—it is now obscured by buildings—a familiar object to everyone crossing the outer bridge from Stamboul to Galata. The history of the building can be traced into the Genoese period, when, as Evliya admits,[1] it was a Christian church. Under the Genoese it belonged to the Dominican Order and was dedicated to S. Paul.[2] In plan it is a simple rectangle divided by three rows of columns into a wide nave and three aisles, of which two are on the north side. These are covered with a wooden roof. The line of the nave is continued by a short vaulted chancel flanked by lower compartments carrying on the line of the aisles. At the south-eastern corner the plain, square tower alluded to above (Pl. V, 1) still serves as the minaret of the mosque. Beneath it, opening by a Gothic archway (Pl. V, 2), runs a vaulted passage. In the west wall of this is built a doorway more Byzantine than Gothic in general character, decorated in the spandrels with scutcheons bearing rampant lions. This doorway originally communicated with the eastern continuation of the south aisle. Further traces of the use of the building as a Latin church are afforded in the interior by remains of frescoed saints on the west wall, portions of a marble tessellated pavement in the nave, and a large number of flooring slabs with Latin inscriptions and Genoese coats-of-arms,[3] discovered in the course of recent repairs.[4] The structure as a whole is of brick and rubble, but has been much repaired: the south-west corner is finished as a clustered column in brick.

The orthodox Moslem version of the mosque's history is given by the eighteenth-century author of the *Jardin des Mosquées*[5] as follows:—

[1] *Travels*, i. 2, 51.

[2] Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 215 ff. The Church of S. Paul is mentioned about 1400 by Clavijo (Hakluyt Soc. Edn. 49).

[3] Two, bearing date 1423 (*Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 322 (3)) and 1433 (*B.S.A.* xi. 54), had been recorded earlier.

[4] These had been hidden under the wooden floor, but were known to exist in the 'sixties (De Launay, cited in *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 273).

[5] In Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii. 71. Evliya (*Travels*, i. 1, 25; i. 2, 49, 51) says it was built by the Caliph Omar Abd-ul-Aziz during the fifth siege, which he dates A.H. 92.

'Arab Djami was built by Maslama, an emir of the Ommeyad House. The rhymed history of the foundation of the mosque hangs in the interior. . . . It is said to have been founded in the sixty-sixth year of the Hegira (685–6 A.D.) under the Caliph Abd-el-Malik by his captain Maslama at the siege (the poem says *conquest*) of Constantinople. Maslama was recalled by the Caliph Omar II.; this is why the mosque fell into ruins and was only rebuilt by Sultan Mahommed III. (1595–1603).'

In confirmation of the legendary foundation of Arab Djami an ebony cup, supposed to be that of Maslama himself, was till recently kept in the mosque; the water of the mosque well was drunk from this cup with beneficial results by expectant and nursing mothers.[1]

When we come to examine this tradition we find first that the date given (685–6 A.D.) is not that of the siege of Constantinople by the Arabs under Maslama (which took place in 717–8 A.D.), though it comes reasonably near the date of the first Arab siege (672–7 A.D.). There is no record of a mosque having been built by the invading Arabs during either siege.[2] During that of Maslama the Arabs never entered the Golden Horn, so that it is impossible that a mosque should have been built in Galata, which was in all probability already a fortified suburb; if a mosque had been built at all it would have been either outside the land walls or on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus, where the besieging troops had their headquarters.[3]

It is true that a small mosque (*mesjid*) existed at Constantinople as early as the tenth century, but this was in the Praetorium, which was near the Forum of Constantine in the city proper. The building of this mosque is attributed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus to the reign of Michael III. Balbus, who, he says, erected it as a favour to Maslama.[4] This is, of course, a confusion: the siege of Maslama (in the reign of Leo the Isaurian) resulted in the complete discomfiture of the Arabs, and their leader was in no position to ask favours from the Emperor. The mosque in the Praetorium probably dated from the Saracen embassy of

[1] D'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, i. 285; Scarlatos Byzantios, Κωνσταντινούπολις, ii. 46.

[2] For the Arab accounts see Brooks in *J. H. S.* xviii., xix.

[3] See the account of the siege and the disposition of the Arab forces in Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 402 ff.

[4] *De Adm. Imp.* XXI. iii. (p. 101 B).

860 A.D., which, owing to political circumstances, obtained favourable terms.[1]

This mosque seems to have lasted down to the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204.[2] In the succeeding centuries there is no trace of its existence. It is particularly significant that the Mahommedan travellers El Harawi and Ibn Batuta, who visited Constantinople in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively, mention no Mussulman house of prayer in the city.[3]

§ 2.—SUPERSTITION AND POLITICS AT CONSTANTINOPLE, 1570–1610.

The date of the 'discovery' of *Arab Djami*, *i.e.* its transformation from a church, is probably little earlier than the end of the sixteenth century. This period was characterised by considerable anti-Christian feeling among the Turks, the origins of which must be sought partly in internal, partly in external conditions. All latent tendencies to superstition were stirred by the approaching millennium of the Hegira (1592–3); this afforded an easy text to the dervish prophets and saints, who have at all times exerted a considerable influence on the masses. Rauwolf, speaking of this period (1575), says:—

'They have (as some of them have told me) a peculiar Book, . . . wherein is briefly written, what shall happen to them every year, whether it be good or bad. This beginneth in the same Year with their Prophet *Mahomet*, and continuing for 1000 Year, when this is at an End, they have nothing more of that Nature worth any thing. And being they go no further, some will deduce or conclude from thence, that their Reign will soon have an end, when those years are passed.[4] Wherefore they fear the *Christians* very much, and confess themselves that they expect to suffer a great blow from the *Christians*. And this one may see or conclude from hence for on their Holidays in the Morning about 9 of the Clock, they shut up the Gates of their Towns, great Champs, and other Publick Habitations, as I found at *Aleppo*, so that many times I could not get out or in until they

[1] Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, p. 279.
[2] See the passages cited by Ducange, *CP. Xtiana*, ii. (p. 164 P), xv.
[3] Ibn Batuta, tr. Lee, p. 83, *note*.
[4] The idea is much older; cf. Schiltberger's *Travels*, ed. Telfer, p. 66 (*c.* 1400).

had opened them again, for they fear at that time to be Assassinated by the *Christians*.'[1]

Prophecies of this sort had begun to circulate already in the first half of the century. That of the 'Red Apple' is at least as early as 1545, probably a good deal earlier.[2] The well-known prophecy foretelling the downfall of the Turks, which was supposed to have been inscribed on the tomb of Constantine and to have been interpreted by the patriarch Gennadius, was current at Constantinople in the seventies of the same century.[3]

In such circumstances omens are never wanting. Miraculous appearances of fiery crosses are reported in Constantinople about the time of Lepanto,[4] and in 1591 an outbreak of plague gave further confirmation to popular fears.[5]

All these indications of nervousness among the Turks go far to explain the ascendancy of the dervishes and of superstition at the period in question. To necromancers, soothsayers, and astrologers the common people looked for counter-charms against the vaguely impending disaster, and the ruling classes, if they did not believe, found it politic to be conciliatory. The Sultan himself (Mourad III., 1574–1595) was notoriously superstitious.[6] It is not without significance that the venerated mosque of Eyoub was rebuilt in the year 1000 of the Hegira,[7] or that the Bektashi dervishes owed their official connection with the Janissaries to the same period.[8]

[1] In Ray's *Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages*, i. 311 ; cf. Shaw's *Travels in Barbary*, p. 246. The fear of Christian attack during Friday prayers was not without reason ; there was an unsuccessful plot for the surprise and recapture of Rhodes at this hour in 1525 (Torr, *Rhodes in Modern Times*, p. 33), and down to the last century Christians were locked out of the walled city of Rhodes at prayer-time on Fridays (Jowett, *Christian Researches*, p. 416 ; W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii. 117 ; C. B. Elliot, *Travels*, ii. 175. George Borrow, in the thirties, found the same tradition and practice current at Tangier (*Bible in Spain, ad fin.*). The same idea occurs also in a Greek folk-story from Trebizond (Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, No. 22).

[2] See below, p. 171.

[3] Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, p. 102. This is the prophecy of the 'Yellow Race' generally interpreted of the Russians, and evidently a composition of this time when Ivan the Terrible was consolidating his empire. It was revived in the early years of the last century, when the Russian menace was still more apparent, and is cited by Hobhouse in his *Travels*.

[4] These appearances are pictured and described by the Venetian cartographer Camotti.

[5] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii. 44. The extreme susceptibility of the Turks to interpret extraordinary events in the most gloomy sense is illustrated by their apprehensions when the Bosporus froze in 1669 : they were 'so frightened that they looked upon it as a dismal Prodigy *and concluded that the world would be at an end that year*' (T. Smith in Ray's *Voyages*, ii. 46).

[6] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii. 282 p.

[7] *Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii.

[8] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, vii. 325.

External events also boded ill for the success of Moslem arms, and public feeling tended in an anti-Christian, and particularly anti-Catholic, direction. The signal victory of the combined fleet of the Catholic powers at Lepanto in 1571, following the repulse before Malta in 1566, raised the apprehensions of the Turks as much as the hopes of Christian Europe. For many years after these events the diplomacy of the Catholic powers was severely handicapped at the Porte.[1]

Of all the Catholic powers Spain was the most detested, not only for the prominent part she had played at Lepanto, but also for her treatment of the Moors. A treaty was denied her in 1578,[2] and a full century later Sir Dudley North writes: 'The Spaniards neither have nor ever had an ambassador at the Porte; which may perhaps be derived from their hatred to all Mahometans for the sake of the Moors.'[3] The hatred was certainly reciprocated and, at Constantinople especially, kept alive by fugitive Spanish Moors settled there.

The final expulsion of the Moors from Spain did not take place till 1610,[4] but there was a serious rebellion in 1570,[5] and shortly after this date we find Spanish Moors flocking to Constantinople.[6] In the middle of the next century Evliya says that 'the inhabitants of the Interior Castle [of Galata, *i.e.* the central compartment of the Genoese walled town] have in their hands a *Khatti-sherif* of Sultan Mohammed II. by which they are allowed to suffer no infidel among them. . . . These inhabitants are for the

[1] This phase of affairs was made good use of by the rising Protestant powers, England and Holland. The first English treaty with the Porte was made in 1581, an embassy being established next year. The Dutch Capitulations date from 1610. Elizabeth certainly made capital out of the distinction between 'Protestant' England and 'idolatrous' Spain (see Pears, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1893, pp. 239 ff.), and James followed her precedent. He is said to have styled himself to the Porte 'Verus fidei contra idolatras falso nomen Christi profitentes [!] . . . propugnator' (*Ambassade de J. de Gontaut-Biron*, ed. T. de Gontaut-Biron, p. 36).

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* vii. 51.

[3] *Lives of the Norths*, ii. 134.

[4] Knolles, *History of the Turks*, p. 899, where the decree of expulsion is given.

[5] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii. 51.

[6] In 1578 a Constantinople letter (Charrière, *Négotiations de la France dans le Levant*, iii. 787) mentions a complaint preferred by 'dix ou douze Mores de Granate habitans icy . . .' The rush began later: cf. *Relaz. di M. Zane* in Alberi, iii. 390 (1594): 'di Spagna concorrono ogni giorni Mori in Constantinopoli, che si chiamano mondesari come si uscissero solamente di Granata, ma in effetto tutta la Spagna n'e contaminata e subito giunti levano il talbante' (*i.e.* avow themselves Moslems); cf. also the same *Relazione*, p. 440. Later still (1608–10) the French embassy espoused the cause of the Moors fleeing from Spain through Marseilles, though official efforts on their behalf were not always successful; cf. *Ambassade de J. de Gontaut-Biron, Table Analytique*, p. 443, and Index, *s.v.* 'Grenadins.'

most part Moors who were driven out of Spain and settled at Galata.'[1] We may probably assume that the name of Mahommed II. is a slip or perversion for that of Mahommed III. (1595–1603), the rebuilder of the church-mosque of the Arabs. The exclusion of 'infidels' from the central part of Galata may have been made to appear a political necessity at a time when the Turks were nervous of Christian plots.

The Moorish refugees of Galata were, naturally enough, fanatical against the Christians, hardly less so against the Jews. It is precisely in the years between 1570 and 1610 that we hear of a series of aggressions against Catholic churches, causing in some cases their transformation into mosques. In 1591 it was proposed to treat the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in this way.[2] In the following year S. Anna at Galata was threatened,[3] and probably about the same period S. Antony and S. Paul were actually taken.[4] Tournefort distinctly states that the latter was confiscated to serve as a mosque for Grenadine Moors.[5] This is the obvious interpretation of its present name.

The orthodox, perhaps suspected of a *rapprochement* with the Catholics owing to the intrigues of the Jesuits, suffered hardly less. To Mourad III.'s reign (1574–1595) is dated the seizure of the church of Pammakaristos (*Fethiyeh Djamisi*),[6] till then the Patriarch's cathedral, and of a church of S. John the Baptist.[7]

The hostility shown by the Moors to the Constantinople Jews is less easy to account for. It probably dated from the days when both races were subject to Spain. The Jews, expelled in 1492, had flocked, like the Moors a hundred years later, to Constantinople, and throughout the follow-

[1] *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, i. 51; cf. *ibid.* p. 53, 'a great number of them are Arabs and Mogrebias.'

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii. 287.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] T. Smith in Ray's *Voyages*, p. 40: '*S. Paul* and *S. Anthony* were both taken away some years since from the Christians and turned into Moschs, the former of which is now known by the name of *Arab Giamesi*, or the Mosch of the *Arabians*.' An earlier notice of the seizure of S. Paul is given by Duloir (*Voyage* (1654), p. 14): Comidas (*Descr. di Costantinopoli*, 1794, p. 59) seems certainly wrong in assigning the seizure to the reign of Suleiman (1520–1566), when the Moors to whom he attributes it were not yet fled out of Spain. But the Christians may have been dispossessed earlier. S. Paul's is not mentioned among the Latin churches of Galata by Breuning (1579, Reyss, p. 89).

[5] *Voyage*, Letter XII. 'La mosquée des Arabes fut confisquée sur les Dominicains, il y a environ 100 ans pour servir aux Mahometans Granadins.'

[6] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii. 232; the *Jardin des Mosquées* gives the date 1591.

[7] *Constantiniade*, p. 108.

ing century were influential in Turkey as physicians, diplomatists, and tax-farmers. Their importance ends suddenly with the close of the sixteenth century.[1] One cause seems certainly the influx of the Moors, who despise and hate the Jews far more than do the Turks. The refugees at Constantinople, finding the Jews no longer their equals in servitude, but their inferiors as non-Mussulmans in a Mussulman country, and their superiors in wealth and standing, satisfied their prejudices and avenged their Spanish wrongs on the hated race. This feeling seems to have risen to its height in 1612, when the Moors resident in Galata, supported by the Cadi, who was one of them, drove out the Jews and destroyed their synagogues.[2] But for French diplomatic action, the Catholic Church of S. Francis would have shared the fate of the synagogues.[3]

The usurpation of the church now called the Mosque of the Arabs thus falls chronologically in the middle of a long period of anti-Catholic feeling, instigated by superstitious fears at home and Catholic successes abroad, and fomented by the Moorish refugees from Spain. The supposed pre-Turkish traditions of the mosque rest on no more than a fanciful interpretation of its name, which originally denoted the population for whose use it was appropriated.

§ 3.—KURSHUNLU MAGHZEN DJAMISI.

Like the Mosque of the Arabs, the Mosque of the Leaded Store or Underground Mosque (*Yer Alti Djami*) claims to date from the Arab siege of Constantinople under Maslama, when it served as a mosque for the Faithful. According to popular legend the Arab leader at his departure, knowing that some Moslems had been buried in it, obtained leave from the Greeks to seal up the key-hole with lead (*kurshun*) to prevent the desecration of their graves.[4] This elaborate story is devised to explain the name of the mosque, really derived from its proximity to the lead-roofed granary mentioned above.

The Underground Mosque is situated near the quays just outside the new bridge and immediately behind the Port Office. As its name implies,

[1] But their connection with medicine and the University of Salamanca lasted far into the next century (T. Smith in Ray's *Voyages*, ii. 58).

[2] Knolles, *History of the Turks*, p. 917.

[3] *Ibid.* and des Hayes, *Voyage*, p. 125.

[4] Meyer's *Konstantinopel*, 7 Aufl. 199; cf. Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, ii. 698.

its floor-level lies somewhat lower than the level of the street, and the building, being low and badly lighted, has the appearance of a large cellar. The plan is a simple rectangle divided into a series of square compartments by quadrangular piers of masonry supporting a series of vaults.[1] The building is, to judge by the position of the *mihrab*, fairly correctly orientated.

The building seems to have been identified by the discovery in it of alleged Arab tombs, now attributed to saints named Amiri, Wahabi (left of entrance), and Sufian or Abu Sufian (right of entrance). The latter tomb is the most important of the group and occupies a separate compartment within a grille; it is evidently associated with Sufian, one of the Arab warriors who took part in the first Arab siege (672–7) by Moawiya.[2]

The tomb of Sufian is frequented as a pilgrimage by Turkish and Armenian, occasionally by Greek, women. For a small fee the guardian lays on the tomb a new garment or handkerchief, which, having remained there forty days, is an infallible love-charm if worn by the man it is desired to attract. Women desirous of children wear round their waists a handkerchief which has been consecrated in a similar way.[3]

The 'discovery' of the tombs and mosque is attributed by von Hammer, on the authority of the *Jardin des Mosquées*, to a pious Nakshbendi sheikh, who had had revealed to him the site of the Prophet's father's tomb at Medina in the middle of the eighteenth century; the funds for the building were contributed by the vizir, Mustafa Pasha, who was himself a member of the Nakshbendi Order.[4] But the mosque and its tombs are mentioned at least a century earlier by Evliya,[5] so that the eighteenth century could have been responsible only for a reconstruction, as indeed the *Jardin des Mosquées* states. The original discovery cannot be placed later than the death of Mourad IV. (1640), since Evliya tells us that the emperor 'intended finishing the mosque but could not accomplish it.'[6] We may perhaps attribute the first 'discovery' of this so-called Arab mosque to the same period and combination of circumstances as were responsible for that of *Arab Djami*. In this case there is nothing to

[1] According to the *Jardin des Mosquées* (p. 73) the mosque measures 66 × 51 paces and has forty-two vaults.

[2] Brooks, in *J.H.S.* xviii. 186: Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 311. Abu Sufian was the title of the Caliph Moawiya.

[3] This procedure is not uncommon at other Moslem shrines (cf. Evans, *J.H.S.* xxi. 204): the principle involved is that of contact with sacred objects at second hand.

[4] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xv. 261; cf. *Jardin des Mosquées* (*ibid.* xviii. 73)

[5] *Travels*, i. 1, 25. [6] *Ibid.* i. 1, 167.

indicate that the building ever served as a church; its numerous vaulted aisles may have suggested a mosque to Moors familiar with the early many-columned Arab type of mosque found at Cordova and elsewhere, or the whole may have been built in recent times after the discovery of the 'Arab tombs.' The tradition of the pre-Turkish mosque is, in any case, to be regarded as no more than a patriotic fable resting solely on the religious credulity of the masses, stimulated by the dreams and revelations of holy men.

By similar methods numerous churches in the capital which were transformed into mosques by the Turks have acquired a spurious sanctity by the discovery in them of 'Arab' saints' graves: in some cases, like that of Sufian in Galata, these have been associated with more or less historical personages.[1] In S. Andrew of Crete (*Hodja Mustafa Pasha Djamisi*), for example, are shown the graves of the daughters of Hussein, who, says tradition, having been captured by the Greeks, killed themselves rather than marry unbelievers;[2] many *dedes* or saints' graves independent of mosques have similar traditions.[3] A curious example is Baba Djafer, the saint of the galley-slaves' prison, who was identified with an ambassador of Haroun-al-Rashid.[4]

In a former paper[5] I have attempted to indicate the process by which such identifications are arrived at. The existence of a holy-place or the grave of a saint is inferred from accidental circumstances, such as the discovery of a sarcophagus or of human remains, especially an undecayed corpse,[6] the appearance of a miraculous light, or the fall of a wall,[7] with or without coincidences connecting these accidental circumstances with dreams or with the 'luck' of individuals or communities. The name and history of the saint discovered depend on the lucubrations of learned mystics. The cult is perpetuated by the faith or credulity of the superstitious, often assisted by interested persons.

[1] See the *Jardin des Mosquées* (xviii. c) in Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xviii. pp. 18 (185, *Hassan Hussein Mesjidi*), 33 (333, *Kahriyeh Djami*), 35 (349, *Hodja Mustafa Djamisi*).

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 116. This tradition seems to be subsequent to the *Jardin des Mosquées*, in which the saint of this mosque is called a 'Companion of Eyoub.'

[3] See especially Evliya, *Travels*, i. 2, 15.

[4] *Ibid.* i. 26.

[5] 'Graves of the Arabs in Asia Minor,' in *B.S.A* xix. 182–190.

[6] For a Moslem saint of this sort discovered in 1845 near Larnaca, see Ross, *Reisen nach Kos*, etc., p. 188.

[7] Prof. White (of Marsovan), in *Trans. R. Vict. Inst.* xxxix. 155.

In the case of the 'Mosque of the Arabs' the rational explanation of the name was easily forgotten, and the romantic substituted under these influences. The 'type' and tradition of Arab saint once evolved—and this happened early both in Asia Minor and at Constantinople[1]—the name 'Arab' is sufficient to determine the period and setting of the saint or building involved. At Rhodes, for instance, the tower actually built by the Grand Master de Naillac about 1400, being called Arab's Tower (*Arab Koulesi*), is referred to the conquest of Rhodes by the Saracens under Moawiya.[2]

§ 4.—THE 'ARAB' IN FOLKLORE AND HAGIOLOGY.

The current conception of an 'Arab' saint includes two ideas, that of the Arab proper, a compatriot of the Prophet and champion of the Faith, and that of the negro, which is implied by the popular connotation of the word 'Arab' in Turkish. Fusion is rendered easy by the facts (1) that the negroes with whom the Turks are in habitual contact, coming from or through North Africa, are Arabic speakers, and (2) that certain races, notably the Soudanese, are characterised by magnificent physique and reckless courage in war: there is no reason to doubt that the gigantic negro Hassan who distinguished himself at the siege of Constantinople was a historical and characteristic figure.[3] In historical folklore, consequently, it is not surprising to find the heroes of traditional Moslem exploits frequently represented as 'Arabs.'

All this suggests that many reputed 'Arab' saints belonged in the earlier stages to folklore rather than to religion. The mysterious 'Arab' (*i.e.* negro) *djinn* is a figure common to the folklore of the whole Nearer East. He generally affects the *rôle* of a guardian, especially of treasure, but also of buildings and springs.

Heroes of traditional Moslem exploits also tend to become represented as 'Arabs.' Philippopolis, for example, is said to have been taken by the besieging Turks owing to the discovery and destruction of the subterranean

[1] *B.S.A.* xix. 189.

[2] Biliotti, *Rhodes*, p. 501. The name *Arab Koulesi* is at least as old as Beaufort (*Piloting Directions for Mediterranean*, 1831, p. 300), whose survey took place in 1811. The Moawiya tradition I cannot find before Biliotti.

[3] In the less reputable field of brigandage the recent exploits of certain redoubtable 'Arabs' are still locally remembered (cf. Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folklore de Lesbos*, 323; E. Deschamps in *Tour du Monde*, 1897, 183 (Cyprus)).

aqueducts which supplied it with water: the discoverer was an 'Arab.'[1] Beside the apocryphal grave of Constantine Palaeologus at Vefa Meidan (Constantinople) is shown the equally apocryphal tomb of his slayer: the slayer was an 'Arab.'[2] Similarly the Moslem champion slain by the Bulgarian hero Bolen Doïtsi at Salonica was an 'Arab.'[3] But by far the commonest *rôle* of the 'Arab,' not only in the folklore of Turkey, but in that of the Balkans,[4] is that of the terrifying spectre or *djinn*. The 'Arab' *djinn* reflecting the fidelity of his earthly counterpart, the negro slave, generally figures as a guardian, especially of treasure,[5] but also of buildings[6] and wells.[7] In connection with haunted buildings and treasure (which are very often combined, a haunted building being assumed to be haunted by the guardian of treasure concealed in it) the conception of an 'Arab' guardian is based on (1) the regular use in the East of black slaves as confidential servants,[8] and (2) the common folklore practice of immolating a victim at the commencement of a building in order that his spirit may establish the structure.[9] In the case of treasure the victim may be the confidential servant: his immolation then secures both secrecy as to the whereabouts of the treasure and a ghostly guardian for its future protection.[10] In Greek folklore the 'Arab' is occasionally

[1] Tsoukalas, **Περιγραφὴ Φιλιππουπόλεως**, p. 27.

[2] Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, ii. 677. [3] **Λαογραφία**, i. 690.

[4] For the 'Arab' in Turkish folk-stories, see Kunos, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, preface, p. xviii; for the Greek area, where he is generally called **Ἀράπης** (**Μῶρος** in the Ionian Islands, **Σαρακηνὸς** in Crete), see Polites, **Νεοελλ. Μυθολογία**, pp. 133, 145 ff., and **Παραδόσεις**, Nos. 419 ff., with the learned note on 419; also Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Folklore de C. P.*, p. 149. The 'Arab' appears early in Greek folklore as the *famulus* of a sorcerer; see an anecdote of Photius in Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, p. 445.

[5] Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, Nos. 419–445 inclusive; Pashley, *Crete*, ii. 39; Cockerell, *Travels*, p. 151; St. Clair and Brophy, *Residence in Bulgaria*, p. 55; W. Turner, *Tour in Levant*, iii. 512; Perrot, *L'île de Crète*, pp. 103 ff.

[6] Polites, *op. cit.* Nos. 455–462; cf. Hobhouse, *Travels*, i. 529 (haunted houses); Palgrave, *Ulysses*, p. 59 (haunted bath). In Egypt a talisman which prevented the silting up of a branch of the Nile in the eighteenth century took the form of a negro with a broom (Lucas, *Voyage fait en* 1714, p. 339).

[7] Polites, *op. cit.* No. 433 (=Leo Allatius, *De Graec. opin.*), 166 and references given in the note (p. 1108); Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, p. 276.

[8] This is strongly brought out by the Turkish folk-stories (Kunos, *loc. cit.*).

[9] The well-known *Bridge of Arta* story affords a good illustration (Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, No. 169, *note*, and 481–483 incl.; also in **Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων**, i. 39: Sainéan, in *Rev. Et. Rel.* xlv. 359 ff.). The story occurs all over the Balkan area and as far east as Kourdistan (M. Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam*, p. 160).

[10] For the immolation of a human victim with this object (**στοιχειώνω**) see Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, No. 424 with the note, and 483. The ghost-guardian must be appeased with blood by the finders of the treasure (*ibid.* No. 404).

a female apparition;[1] I can as yet find no instance of this on the Turkish side.[2]

The conception of Arab *djinns* who guard mysterious buildings, especially castles, or treasures, or both, is partly answerable for the recurring use of *Arab* in Turkish geographical nomenclature. *Arab-Hissar* (Castle of the Arab), the ancient Alabanda, *Arab Koulesi* ('Arab's Tower') at Rhodes,[3] *Arab Euren* (Ruins of the Arab),[4] and possibly Arabkir are examples. Above the last town is a mountain called indifferently *Arab-Baba* and *Kara-Baba*,[5] presumably after a saint (*baba*) or *dede* worshipped on its summit. In this case certainly *Arab-Baba* and *Kara-Baba* are identified, so that *Kara* (*black*) is here a synonym for *Arab*. It therefore follows that the numerous Turkish cults directed to *Kara-Baba*[6] may be associated with 'Arab' saints, and place-names like *Kara-Euren* ('Black Ruin') and even *Kara-Hissar* ('Black Castle') may be similarly associated[7] with 'guardian-Arab' *djinns*.

If these 'Arab' *djinns* prove by experience to be placable they may easily attain to a cult. This is probably the history of the *S. Arab* of Larnaca,[8] the *Arab-zade* of the Seven Towers at Constantinople,[9] of *Arab Oglou*, a saint in Pontus,[10] and the *Sheikh Arab Sultan* of Dineir,[11] who, if our theory be correct, are in effect promoted from *djinns* or demons to *dedes* or saints. Similarly a white marble statue at a fountain in Candia, which has acquired not only a Moslem cult but a cycle of legend, is, in spite of its material, conceived of as a petrified 'Arab.'[12] In the case of

[1] *E.G.* the guardian of the treasure at the Roman baths called after her Ἀράπισσα at Sparta (*B.S.A.* xii. 407) and the ghost Ἀραπατζέλλα of the Kamares cave in Crete (*Folklore*, xxiv. 359).

[2] The porphyry head built into the castle of Roumeli Hissar is said to be that of an Arab woman petrified for mocking the workmen (Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, i. 168), but this is hardly a parallel.

[3] Above, p. 167.

[4] With this compare *Dev Euren*, 'Ruin of the *Ogre*,' another figure familiar to folk-tale (Von Diest, *Tilsit nach Angora*, p. 38).

[5] Ainsworth, *Travels*, ii. 5, 6.

[6] *e.g.* in the fortress commanding the bridge at Chalkis, and at Athens (Dodwell, *Tour*, i. 305; cf. Kambouroghlous, Ἱστ. Ἀθηναίων, iii. 125).

[7] Ramsay (*Pauline Studies*, p. 182) comments on the fact that ancient sites frequently bear names compounded with *karà*, none with *siakh*, though both words mean 'black,' from which he infers that the word implies awe or mystery. The difference between *kara* and *siakh* is primarily one of language, *kara* being vernacular Turkish, *siakh* Persian.

[8] Mariti, *Travels in Cyprus*, tr. Cobham, p. 41.

[9] F. W. H. [10] *Records of the Past*, vi. 101.

[11] G. Weber, *Dinair*, *passim*.

[12] Spratt, *Crete*, i. 44; Pashley, *Crete*, i. 194; cf. *B.S.A.* xix. 68.

Arab Oglou, who is worshipped on an ancient site near Kavak, we may surmise that the cult arose from the apprehensions of some superstitious treasure-seeker, the 'Arab' saint being no more than the guardian of the treasure always supposed to exist on ancient sites. This affords a more easy explanation than the 'survival' theory of the tendency remarked by Ramsay[1] of Moslem cults to exist in such places. Such figures as *Arab Oglou* might in favourable circumstances develop still further into saints boasting a name and even a place in history.

For the Christians the development of the 'Arab' figure from *djinn* to saint is less easy, since his very name brands him as a Moslem, ecclesiastical and artistic traditions connect him with the Devil,[2] and he is probably inextricably mixed with the 'bogey' of childhood. In spite of these disabilities the development may take place. We have the precedent of the S. Barbarus of the monastery of Iveron on Athos, an 'Arab' raider who struck the image of the Virgin of the Gate (Πορταΐτισσα), was converted by a miracle, and became a monk and eventually a saint.[3] In some such way, probably, was converted the 'S. Arab' of Larnaca,[4] who is now worshipped by Christians under the decorous name of S. Therapon.[5] Of this sanctuary Mariti writes in the eighteenth century as follows: 'To the north-west of Larnaca, a few paces outside the town, there is a small mosque called by the Moslem "Arab" and by the Greeks "S. Arab": both sects hold it in great veneration, the one deeming it dedicated to one of their dervishes, the other to some saint. The Turks respect the mosque, or rather little chapel, which they say was built by the said Arab, and the Greeks devoutly visit the sepulchre, a subterranean grotto, in which they hold that for many years lay the body of the supposed hermit.'[6]

This 'S. Arab' is now worshipped by Moslems as 'Tourabi' and by Christians as 'S. Therapon.'[7] Tourabi is the name of a fifteenth-century dervish who was noted for his liberal views as to religions outside Islam.[8]

[1] *Pauline Studies*, p. 182.

[2] On this point see Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, No. 419, *note*.

[3] Smyrnakes, **"Αγιον "Ορος**, p. 471.

[4] Mariti, *Travels in Cyprus*, tr. Cobham, p. 41.

[5] Hackett, *Church in Cyprus*, p. 421. For a similar alleged conversion of a Moslem saint to Christianity, see Schiltberger (ed. Hakluyt Soc. p. 40).

[6] *Travels*, ed. Cobham, p. 41.

[7] Hackett, *Church in Cyprus*, p. 421; Lukach, *Hdbk. of Cyprus* (1913), p. 47.

[8] Von Hammer, *Osman. Dichtkunst*, i. 214: a Kadri convent named *Tourabi Tekke* exists at Constantinople (Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 317).

Therapon is a saint and healer well known in Cyprus, but not specially connected with Larnaca.[1] The ambiguous saint possibly developed first from the nameless 'Arab' ('Αράπης) to Tourabi, the genitive τοῦ 'Αράπη (*sc.* ὁ τεκκὲς, ἡ σπηλαιὰ) possibly aiding the transition. From Tourabi, by way of the form Tharape,[2] to Therapon is easy. It seems at least fairly clear that we have here a case of an 'Arab' cave-*djinn* who has managed to secure a footing in both religions.

THE PROPHECY OF THE RED APPLE.

The famous Turkish prophecy of the 'Red Apple' comes to us first in 1545, when it was published by Georgiewicz, a Hungarian, for many years prisoner among the Turks,[3] in (transliterated) Turkish with a Latin translation and a commentary. The following is an English rendering of the text:—

> *Our Emperor shall come, he shall take the realm of the Gentiles (Kiafir), he shall take the Red Apple and capture it: if unto the seventh year the sword of the Unbeliever (Giaour) shall not come forth, he shall have lordship over them unto twelve years: he shall build houses, plant vineyards, hedge gardens about, and beget children; after twelve years from the time that he hath captured the Red Apple the sword of the Infidel shall come forth and put the Turk to flight.*

Our anonymous prophet knew his craft and provided, like the Delphian Apollo, for all contingencies. His first line of defence is, as has been already pointed out,[4] the interpretation of the word 'year,' which in such utterances allows of some latitude. Further, the central episode, the taking of the 'Red Apple' (*Kizil Elma*), on which the rest of the prophecy depends, is obscure, and suggests many lines of thought.

The general symbolism of the 'Red Apple' is certainly *world dominion*. At Constantinople, long before the Turkish conquest, the 'apple' or orb

[1] For his legend see Delehaye in *Anal. Bolland*, xxvi. 247 ff.

[2] Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*, p. 911.

[3] *Prognoma sive presagium Mehemetanorum*, dated, by the introductory letter, 1545. The prophecy is also published in the Turkish collections of Lonicerus.

[4] *Das Ausland* (Munich), 1828, No. 93, p. 372. It will be noted further that 'seven' and 'twelve' are mystic numbers.

held by the statue of Justinian which stood on a column before S. Sophia was regarded as a talisman or 'luck' of the empire. This 'apple,' Mandeville tells us, 'betokens the lordship which Justinian had over all the world': in the fourteenth century it had fallen down, which was 'a token that the emperor hath lost a great part of his lands and lordships.'[1] The conquest of Constantinople and of Justinian's empire might thus be symbolised by the taking of the 'Red Apple.' But the interpretation of a prophecy current nearly a century after the fall of Constantinople obviously could not rest on this alone, and the mysterious 'Red Apple' was identified with several of the successive goals of Ottoman arms, in particular Constantinople (probably retrospectively) and Rome, which the Turks aimed at or even threatened in the first half of the sixteenth century. Turkish opinion in Georgiewicz' day held that the 'Red Apple' symbolised 'some strong and well-fortified imperial city,'[2] but as to its identity opinion was divided. Some said Constantinople was meant, others Rome; the latter interpretation in the end became generally accepted, despite the fact that Rome was never taken by the Turks. Both these interpretations of the 'Red Apple' are indicated by the gloss (current already in Georgiewicz' time) *Vrum papai*, which might be translated, according to fancy, 'the pope (*i.e.* patriarch) of the Greeks' (*Roum*, Ῥωμαῖοι) or 'the pope of the Romans' of Rome. As we shall see, both interpretations were harmonised by seventeenth-century expositors.

The interpretation current among the Turks of the seventeenth century, which sought to identify the Byzantine and the Roman 'Red Apple,' is given by Evliya Effendi. In S. Sophia's long ago was an image of the Virgin holding in her hand a carbuncle as big as a pigeon's egg, by the blaze of which the building was lighted every night. This carbuncle was removed on the birth-night of the Prophet to *Kizil Elma* (Rome), which received its name 'Red Apple' from thence.[3] There is no attempt to explain the connection of carbuncles with 'red apples.' A carbuncle is, of

[1] Ed. Wright, p. 130; cf. Procopius, *de Aedif.*, 182 B; cf. Schiltberger, *Travels*, ed. Hakluyt Society, p. 80 and *note*, and for Mandeville's sources, Bovenschen in *Zeitschr. f. Erdkunde*, 1888, p. 211.

[2] *Kizil Elma dicunt esse urbem aliquam fortissimam et munitissimam imperialem* (Georgiewicz' commentary), whence doubtless the anonymous writer in *Ausland* draws the erroneous inference that 'Red Apple' was a synonym for *any* strong city.

[3] *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, i. 1, 53. A Russian pilgrim (Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 91) notices a statue of Leo the Wise which had this property. For other stories of carbuncles that lighted buildings see C. W. King, *Natural History of Precious Stones*, p. 239.

course, a garnet (ML. *Lapis granatus*, Fr. *Grénat*), so called from the likeness of its colour to that of a pomegranate.

Of 'red apple' as a paraphrase either for 'carbuncle' or pomegranate —the ordinary Turkish word for the latter is the Persian *nar*—I can find no distinct indication;[1] but we shall detect later hints of the connexion.[2] Modern Turkish tradition identifies the 'Red Apple' of Rome with the gilded dome of S. Peter's, which is said to be visible from the sea.[3]

Evliya quite inconsistently continues, evidently drawing upon an independent tradition; 'The Spanish infidels were once or twice masters of Istambol [Constantinople], and thence that egg [*i.e.* the carbuncle] came into their hands.'[4] He thus implies that the 'Red Apple' was, according to one version, in Spain. After what we have said elsewhere as to the emigration of Spanish Moors to Constantinople about the end of the sixteenth century, it is hard to resist the suggestion that here again we have stumbled across the equation 'Red Apple' = Carbuncle = Pomegranate, the 'Red Apple' in this case symbolising the long-lost Moslem kingdom of *Granada*. Though the derivation of the name of Granada, from its abundance of pomegranates, is not universally accepted by philologists, it is so far the received popular etymology that the pomegranate figures in the arms of the city; and the modern surname *Nar*, which occurs among the Spanish Jews of Turkey, is surely a translation of the name Granada, implying the same identification.

The prophecy of the 'Red Apple' was thus applied to two, if not three, cities. A later edition of Georgiewicz' *Presagium* connects it, giving no reason, with a fourth, Buda-Pest; so far as we can see this is merely an arbitrary application of a prophecy to a city which was long the goal of Turkish arms and eventually (1526) fell to them. Certain it is that in 1538, *twelve years after the taking of Buda*, portents were seen in the sky at Constantinople foretelling the imminent ruin of the Turks by the

[1] There may be a play on this in a Turkish couplet quoted by Gibb (*Ottoman Poetry*, iv. 24).

[2] 'Red Apple' for pomegranate has an exact verbal parallel in the Latin name (*Malum Punicum*) of the same fruit. The Arabic for pomegranate is *rumman*, which gives a distinct point if the 'Red Apple' means *Rome*. For the curiosity of the subject I note here that there is a mountain called *Kizil Elma Dagh* ('Red Apple Mountain') in the Troad: the name is not derived from the colour of the mountain, possibly from its shape (as apparently its ancient name Κότυλος, 'wine-cup'). Other *Kizil Elma* mountains are shown in R. Kiepert's map above Bartin in Paphlagonia and near Kestelek on the Rhyndacus.

[3] Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv. 25, *note*. The globe on the dome is probably meant.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

Christians.[1] Were these interpreted in the light of the prophecy of the Red Apple, backed by the recent Christian victories of Andrea Doria?

Another possible claimant is the city of Rhodes, taken in 1522, after an unsuccessful siege in 1480. Already in the early fifteenth century was current a derivation of the name of Rhodes, not from ῥόδον (rose), but from ῥοΐδι (pomegranate), on the ground that the city was as full of men as a pomegranate of seeds.[2] We have already remarked on the obscure connection which seems to exist between the 'Red Apple' and the pomegranate. If Rhodes were taken as the 'Red Apple' of the prophecy, the destruction of the Turkish power by the Christians would be due to occur in 1534. It may be significant that superstitious Turks, arguing from omens, augured ill of the chances of a Turkish army which marched into Hungary in that year.[3]

F. W. HASLUCK.

Avvisi di Costantinopoli, Venice, 1538 (B.M. 1315 d. 18/2).

[2] Buondelmonti, *Liber Insularum* (1420), ed. de Sinner, p. 72.

[3] Schepper, *Missions Diplomatiques*, 13 G. In this year the marble lion of the Bucoleon was said to have turned its head away from Europe and towards Asia. Such stories are rather the effect than the cause of superstitious fears.

THE PRE-MYCENAEAN POTTERY OF THE MAINLAND.

(PLATES VI.-XI.)

ALTHOUGH as long ago as 1876 Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae revealed to us the prehistoric civilisation of the Peloponnese, it is only comparatively recently that its pre-Mycenaean culture has become known. For Crete the epoch-making excavations of Sir Arthur Evans have made clear to us the long pottery sequence which illustrates the development of prehistoric civilisation in that island from the end of neolithic times, through the great age of the palace of Knossos, to its decline and fall in the Third Late Minoan period. For the Cyclades the pottery sequence from Phylakopi, with other finds, provides us with a series parallel to the Cretan; and for Thessaly, too, a provisional series has been established. But for the history of civilisation in the Peloponnese and East-Central Greece during the long prehistoric age the only evidence we had was that from Mycenae, Tiryns, and one or two other small sites, all of which illustrate the last phases only.

Recently much fresh evidence has accumulated from Furtwaengler's excavations at Orchomenos[1] and Aegina, from Vollgraff's exploration of Argos,[2] from the German excavations at Tiryns,[3] from Soteriades' discoveries in Phocis,[4] and last but not least from the American excavations of prehistoric sites round Corinth. The combined results of these discoveries, especially of the last, where a complete pottery sequence from

[1] Bulle, *Orchomenos*, i.

[2] *B.C.H.* 1906, pp. 5 ff.

[3] Karo, *Fuehrer d. die Ruinen v. Tiryns*; K. Müller, *Ath. Mitt.* 1913, pp. 88 ff.

[4] *Rev. d. Études Grecques*, 1912, pp. 253 ff.; Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, pp. 197 ff.

the early Bronze Age to the Third Late Minoan period has been found, now provide us with material for attempting to set out a chronological series, parallel to those of Phylakopi and Knossos, to illustrate the development of civilisation in the Peloponnesus and East-Central Greece during this long period. The object of the present paper is to endeavour to construct such a sequence, and to describe briefly its three main kinds of pottery. We have studied together the finds from Phocis, Orchomenos, Phylakopi, Argos, and Tiryns, as well as those from the American excavations at Corinth, which have been directed by the American collaborator. The finds from Furtwaengler's excavations in Aegina, which are not yet published, are unfortunately not easily accessible. In any case, the conclusions here set out are mainly the result of careful observation of the stratification of the Corinthian excavations which we have followed together, and are recorded in order to facilitate a better chronological arrangement of the prehistoric wares of the Peloponnese. Any future students or excavators who use this as their guide will, it is hoped, correct and supply its many shortcomings.

The three kinds of pottery referred to are the wares hitherto known as Urfirnis, Minyan, and Mattmalerei. The first we propose to rechristen 'Early Helladic' Ware, because the name 'Urfirnis,' first applied to it by Furtwaengler at Orchomenos, describes practically only one variety and is even misleading, for a descriptive name should be comprehensive enough to include all varieties of the ware. Thus it seems best to abandon the name 'Urfirnis' and, with Sir Arthur Evans,[1] adopt the name 'Early Helladic,' which is an arbitrary label. Then 'Middle Helladic' could be used to cover the period of the Minyan and Mattpaint Wares, and 'Late Helladic' that characterised by Mycenaean Ware. 'Mattmalerei' ware we shall call throughout Mattpainted Ware.

I.—EARLY HELLADIC PERIOD.

Early Helladic ware can be divided into the following groups:—

Group I.

(*a*) Polished monochrome ware, brick-red, pale buff, or black in colour. This is hand-made and polished and of not well refined clay. Some

[1] In his forthcoming work *The Palace of Minos.*

specimens[1] are decorated with incised patterns and thus resemble the early incised wares of the Cyclades—as, for instance, those from Pelos.[2] This group is early, and the vases as a rule have no raised base. Apart from shallow open bowls no other shape can yet be determined.

(*b*) Slipped monochrome ware. Hand-made and polished vases covered with a thin slip varying considerably in colour, for brick-red, red-brown, buff, and greyish are all known. The vases are usually well made, and often have raised bases. The most usual shapes are jugs, small open bowls, askoi (Pl. VI. 1, 2), and sauceboats (cf. Pl. VI. 3).

Group II.

Glazed ware, comprising hand-made vases that can be divided into the two following classes:—

(*a*) Vases only partially covered with glaze-like paint: the usual shape is a shallow open bowl, with incurving rim round which is a brush band of paint, most often dull brown in colour—e.g. *Phylakopi*, Pl. XXXIII. Nos. 1 and 2. Deeper small bowls and sauceboats also occur: compare Karo, *Fuehrer durch die Ruinen von Tiryns*, p. 10, Fig. 3.

(*b*) Vases completely covered with glaze-like paint, varying in colour from clear red-brown to black. The colour indeed often varies so much on a single specimen as to produce a mottled appearance, which in some of the finer vases was apparently intentional. Some sauceboats, for instance, have a red-brown body and an irregular belt of black round the rim. Some, too, have one shade inside and another outside. The normal shapes are askoi, jugs (Pl. VI. 1, 2), sauceboats (Pl. VI. 3), shallow bowls, deep bowls, and big jars and bowls of various shapes.

Group III.

Patterned ware, hand-made, which falls into two main classes:—

(*a*) Dark-on-light slipped ware, which in its turn has two sub-divisions:—

(i) Vases partly covered with glaze-like paint, as Group II. (*b*), but round the middle of the vase or the upper part of the vase (usually small two-handled tankards or mugs) there is a simple linear pattern in narrow

[1] *E.g.* a vase from the early tombs at Corinth, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1897, p. 321, ii. 2.
[2] Edgar, *B.S.A.* iii. pp, 35 ff.

zones. The effect of this is to give, at a hasty glance, the impression of a vase decorated in a light-on-dark style. The paint varies from red to brown-black, the red being on a buff, the brown-black on a greenish-yellow biscuit. The patterns suggest basket work. Other shapes so decorated are sauceboats (Pl. VII. 2) and askoi.

(ii) Vases of exactly the same shapes (Pl. VII. 1), colours, and style decorated only with belts of similar patterns round the middle or upper part while the rest of the surface is left unpainted. Pyxides and small cups are also found decorated in this manner.

(*b*) Light-on-dark ware. This consists of vases covered all over with blackish glaze paint and decorated with patterns similar to those of the last class (Group III. (*a*)) in dull white paint—compare Soteriades, *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1912, p. 271, Fig. 12, and Childe, *J.H.S.* 1915, p. 198, Fig. 2. The principal shapes so far known are the askos and two-handled mugs and tankards. Vases of this and of the preceding group often have a crossed circle on the bottom.

Group IV.

Plain ware. Vases of shapes common to Groups II. and III. but quite plain and undecorated.

Group V.

Pithoi. Large store jars of this type, if decorated at all, have one or more raised belts of a plastic rope work design round the body, and these raised belts are covered with the usual brown-black glaze paint—compare the Phylakopi pithoi, *Phylakopi*, pp. 85, 86. Some pithoi have decoration like that of Group II. (*a*), and others have an impressed cuneiform pattern on the lip, as also in Melos, *Phylakopi*, Pl. V. 14.

Early Helladic Ware of all the above classes except Group III. (*b*), light-on-dark ware, is the typical ware of the lower strata at Tiryns[1] and Corinth. Ware like that of Group II. (*b*) is the original Urfirnis ware of Orchomenos II. and Lianokladi II.[2]

The light-on-dark ware is the variety hailed as 'Kamares' by the Bavarians in Orchomenos II., and now much better known through

[1] Karo, *op. cit.* pp. 7 ff.

[2] Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, pp. 177 ff., 194.

Soteriades' excavations at Hagia Marina,[1] where most of the other classes of Early Helladic Ware have also been found.

To judge by the Corinthian evidence, the earliest class is Group I. and the latest is Group III. dark-on-light ware and light-on-dark ware, which immediately precedes the first appearance of Minyan Ware in a period apparently parallel to the transition between Middle Minoan I. and Middle Minoan II. A truer chronological classification of the other varieties cannot be attempted till there is more evidence from excavations available —for instance, from the lower strata of the Corinthian sites.

In their report on the supplementary excavation at Phylakopi[2] Messrs. Dawkins and Droop say: 'A small quantity of the ware generally called Urfirnis was found lying on the rock. . . . It would seem to belong to the earlier part of the First City . . .' This is an understatement of the case, because only ware of Group II. (*b*) was then considered to be Urfirnis. Now in the light of the recent discoveries we can class a very large proportion of all the earlier pottery of Phylakopi as the Cycladic version of Early Helladic Ware. For instance the ware of Phylakopi, Section 2,[3] seems to be parallel to Group I. above, that of Section 3 to Group II. (*a*) and (*b*) and Group III. (*a*); for example, the two bowls figured in *Phylakopi*, Plate XXXIII. Nos. 1 and 2, are splendid and typical Cycladic equivalents of Early Helladic Ware, Group II. (*a*); but on the other hand the incised ware of Section 4 is a Cycladic development for which no mainland or Helladic parallel has yet been found, apart from one or two possible sherds at Corinth. Similarly the early vases from other Cyclades also fall into this classification as examples of the Cycladic variety.[4] Of these we illustrate here samples of Group III. (*a*), 1 and 2, from Naxos and Chalandriane in Syra (Pls. VIII. and IX.), and Tsountas has illustrated others.[5]

Finally one can consider that the dark-on-light and light-on-dark Early Minoan Wares[6] of Crete are the Cretan version, and naturally a much more advanced version, of Early Helladic Ware, Group III. (*a*) and (*b*), which may in all probability have been produced through some

[1] Bulle, *Orchomenos*, i. p. 16; *Rev. Études Grecques*, 1912, *loc. cit.*
[2] *B.S.A.* xvii. p. 16.
[3] See *Phylakopi*, pp. 82 ff.
[4] Cf. Tsountas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, Pl. IX.; 1899, Pl. IX., especially Nos. 1, 8, 9, 10, 13, 28.
[5] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1899, Pl. VIII.
[6] Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, Pls. XII. and A 3.

suggestive sympathy with Crete. The well-known mottled ware[1] of Crete is again the southern counterpart of the mottled Early Helladic vases of Group II. (*b*).

Further exploration[2] and study will probably show that these three divisions, Early Helladic, Early Cycladic and Cretan Early Minoan Ware are all branches of one great parent stock which pursued parallel, but more or less independent, courses, till the Cretan branch, impelled by Egyptian influence to a much higher artistic development, dominated the other two.

II.—MIDDLE AND LATE HELLADIC PERIODS.

1.—MINYAN WARE.

This ware has been so thoroughly discussed in the two recent papers of Forsdyke[3] and Childe[4] that it might seem unnecessary to say more on the subject for the present; but detailed notes of the stratification of the excavations at Corinth have made its history far clearer and shown that it plays a most important part in the development of mainland Mycenaean fabrics. It falls into the following groups:—

Group I.—True Minyan.

(*a*) The well-known wheel-made grey ware that has been found at so many sites, even apparently as far afield as Thermon.[5] The principal shapes of this group and their metallic characteristics have been fully described by Forsdyke and Childe, so that it is necessary only to remark that the bases of the ring-stemmed goblets of Argolis and the south differ often, but not always, from those of Orchomenos and the north: in general the latter have many well-defined rings and the former fewer and often rather formless rings; contrast Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, Fig. 135, p. 187, with Schliemann, *Mycenae*, Fig. 230, p. 154. Another

[1] Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, Pls. XII. and B 1 and 2.

[2] Early Helladic Ware has recently been found at Aulis (Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, 1915, i., Παράρτημα, p. 55) underlying a layer of Minyan Ware, and has also lately been identified, together with Minyan, on the Acropolis at Athens.

[3] *J.H.S.* 1914, pp. 126 ff.

[4] *J.H.S.* 1915, pp. 196 ff.

[5] Romaios, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, 1915, pp. 256 ff.

point of difference is that the Argolic variety is sometimes incised,[1] a feature that recurs at Corinth.

(*b*) Ware exactly similar to the last, but yellow-brown in colour; otherwise there is no difference between it and the main class just described. This variety is known at Orchomenos, Zerelia, Corinth and elsewhere.

Group II.—Argive Minyan.

A fabric peculiar apparently to Argolis[2] and neighbouring districts such as Corinth. This is to all appearance a local imitation of the shapes of Group I., but is hand-made and of thick, coarse fabric with a red biscuit and a hard black or yellow-brown surface. Some specimens are decorated with incisions. Similar imitations have been recognised in Thessaly, in Phocis and Boeotia and at Phylakopi.[3]

A Melian counterpart to this is to be recognised in the red burnished ware from Phylakopi which so often imitates Minyan shapes.[4]

Group III.—Yellow Minyan.

This is a fine ware, as a rule wheel-made and with the same range of shapes as Group I., but of a clear yellow-buff in colour with a surface more or less polished. It has at first sight the appearance of unpainted Mycenaean Ware, but close examination reveals that it is Minyan Ware—as regards the well-known metallic character of the vase forms and their indefinable style—partly translated into the Mycenaean technique by the adoption of this monochrome yellow-buff colour. Goblets of this variety, if they have ringed stems, take the Argolic form, and in general the goblets are deeper and less broad than those of Grey Minyan Ware. This class has been found at Orchomenos, Corinth, Tiryns and Mycenae,[5] and now that it is clearly recognised as Minyan will probably be noticed at other sites,[6] for its importance as a link between Minyan and Mycenaean Wares should not be underestimated.

[1] Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, p. 54. The incised and monochrome ware from Aphidna (*Ath. Mitt.* 1896, pp. 389 ff.) which is grey, is, in our opinion, a similar variety of Minyan.

[2] Mycenae, Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, p. 54; Argos, Vollgraff, *B.C.H.* 1906, pp. 11 ff.

[3] Dawkins and Droop, *B.S.A.* xvii. p. 18.

[4] Dawkins and Droop, *B.S.A.* xvii. pp. 17, 19, Pl. VII. Nos. 4, 201.

[5] *E.g.* in the Fourth Shaft Grave, Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Myk. Thongefässe*, Pl. V. 22.

[6] Cf. Romaios' remarks on the Thermon pottery, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, 1915, pp. 256 ff.

Group IV.—Ephyraean Ware.

This is a late phase (apparently confined to the end of Late Minoan I. and to Late Minoan II.) of Yellow Minyan, and so far only one shape is known, which is a two-handled goblet on a high foot similar to the typical Minyan goblet, but without a ringed stem, deeper and not so broad (Pl. X. 2). The vases, too, are smaller, wheel-made and of a very fine fabric with a yellow-buff slip usually polished. Their distinguishing feature is that they are decorated with graceful floral or marine patterns—iris, crocus, nautilus, etc.—imitated from Cretan vases of the First Late Minoan period. This class is known at Corinth, which as the scene of its first discovery gives it its name, Tiryns,[1] Mycenae,[2] Phylakopi[3] and the Argive Heraeum,[4] and is, so far as the Cretan ancestry of its decoration is concerned, the mainland or Helladic equivalent for the flower vases of Melos.[5] The paint, which is always lustrous, varies in colour from red and red-brown to purple-brown and black.

The chronological order of these different groups of Minyan Ware has been made much clearer by the Corinthian excavations. As known already, Grey Minyan first appears at Phylakopi with Kamares Ware, Middle Minoan I. and II. pottery,[6] but still continued in use till Late Minoan II.,[7] though in lessening quantities. At Corinth the great bulk of Grey Minyan appears in strata of Middle Minoan II. date, but, as at Phylakopi, persists, though in continually diminishing quantities, throughout the succeeding strata till Late Minoan II.

Yellow Minyan begins when Grey Minyan first shows signs of decline, according to the evidence of pottery found in the same strata, in Middle Minoan III. This was its first flourishing period, for it decreases slightly in Late Minoan I., but revives again in Late Minoan II. In this latter period it has become to all intents and purposes Mycenaean in character, and henceforward its translation from Minyan into Mycenaean is complete.

As to the other two groups, Ephyraean Ware (Group IV.), as already

[1] Found in the last and still unpublished German excavations of 1916.

[2] Sherds from Schliemann's excavations in the National Museum, Athens.

[3] Sherds from the first excavation in the National Museum, Athens.

[4] Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pl. LII. Nos. 6, 12, 15, 16.

[5] *Phylakopi*, pp. 125 ff.

[6] Sir Arthur Evans brings out this point in his forthcoming book, *The Palace of Minos*, i., of which he has generously allowed us to read some of the proofs.

[7] Dawkins and Droop, *B.S.A.* xvii. pp. 16 ff.

stated above, covers the end of Late Minoan I. and Late Minoan II.; and Argive Minyan (Group II.) seems, so far as we can tell at present, like its Cycladic red burnished counterpart, to date from the Second Middle Minoan period.

2.—MATTPAINTED WARE.

Ever since Furtwaengler and Loeschcke first distinguished this class, it has been more productive of confusion than any other early style of pottery. The later discoveries at Aegina,[1] Argos,[2] Orchomenos,[3] and elsewhere have not, up to the present, helped to make the history and relations of this ware clearer. A study, however, of the whole question in the light of the stratification of the American excavations at Corinth has encouraged us to regard this as the mainland or Helladic equivalent of the Middle Cycladic Wares in matt paint and to define provisionally the three following groups:—

Group I.

Hand-made ware decorated with matt brown or black geometric designs on a buff or greenish-yellow surface, probably formed by the application of some kind of slip. The colour on a single specimen is not always uniform owing to irregular firing or other accidents.

The patterns are nearly always of a simple linear or geometric character, and include hatched crosses and triangles and crossed circles. Common shapes are spouted bowls, ordinary shallow bowls, large jugs and pithoi similar to those from Aegina,[4] Argos,[5] and Aphidna.[6]

This group is the mainland or Helladic equivalent for Cycladic pottery such as the second class of early geometric ware from Phylakopi (*Phylakopi*, Section 7, pp. 102 ff.); for instance, cups and bowls such as *Phylakopi*, Pl. XI. Nos. 13, 14 and 16 are represented on the mainland; and fragments like those figured in *Phylakopi*, Pls. XII. and XIII. Nos. 1–8, could be easily paralleled from Aegina, Corinth, and other mainland sites.

Since at Corinth these vases are found together with Grey Minyan Ware at its most flourishing period, we could on this evidence alone date this group to the period comprised between the end of Middle Minoan I.

[1] Staes, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1895, pp. 193 ff.
[2] Vollgraff, *B.C.H.* 1906, pp. 19 ff.
[3] Bulle, *Orchomenos*, i. p. 9, etc.
[4] Staes, *op. cit.* Pl. X.
[5] Vollgraff, *op. cit.* Figs. 23 ff,
[6] Wide, *Ath. Mitt.* 1896, Pl. XV. 4–6.

and the first half of Middle Minoan III. This dating is confirmed by other evidence; at Argos this style of Mattpainted Ware appeared with Grey Minyan;[1] and the same may be said of Aphidna,[2] where the vases of monochrome technique are akin to Grey Minyan and Argive Minyan. Finally the Melian class which corresponds to this group is that with which Kamares Ware and Grey Minyan Ware were found.[3] The chain of evidence being thus complete, we may safely assign this first group of Mattpainted Ware to the period just indicated.

Group II.

Ware sometimes wheel-made with curvilinear and occasionally floral or animal designs (Pl. XI.) in matt brown or black on a buff or greenish-yellow ground, which is usually slipped to receive the paint. Here again, owing to accidents of firing and manufacture, the colour of the pattern and ground is not always uniform.

This group is a development of the preceding, probably under Minoan influence, but no hard-and-fast line can be drawn between the two. In this respect it resembles its Cycladic equivalent, the so-called Early Mycenaean Ware of Phylakopi into which the earlier matt geometric class merges.[4]

So far as can be determined at present, the two typical shapes of this group on the mainland are panelled cups similar to those from Melos (compare, for instance, *Phylakopi*, p. 115, Fig. 88, and Pls. XVI. and XVII. with Furtwaengler and Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, Pl. XXIV. Nos. 176–178) and beaked jugs of a type akin to those of Phylakopi but clearly differentiated from them. No complete specimens of the latter are yet known, but, except that they are taller and less globular, they seem in shape not unlike the beaked jugs of the Sixth Shaft Grave at Mycenae.[5] Other shapes known at Corinth are cups of the Vaphio type (cf. Pl. X. 1) and shallow saucers.

Since this group gradually emerges from the preceding, it must succeed it in date, and consequently its beginning should be assigned to the earlier part of Middle Minoan III. Its lower limit is hard to fix, but at Corinth

[1] Vollgraff, *op. cit.* p. 45.

[2] *Ath. Mitt.* 1896, pp. 389 ff.: there is also considerable resemblance between the graves at Aphidna and those at Orchomenos (Bulle, *op. cit.* pp. 61 ff.).

[3] *Phylakopi*, p. 148; Dawkins and Droop, *B.S.A.* xvii. pp. 10, 17.

[4] *Phylakopi*, p. 103.

[5] Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Myk. Thongefässe*, Pls. IX. 44, X. 46.

it occurs also with Late Minoan I. Ware, and from Mycenae there are specimens from the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Shaft Graves,[1] and other fragments found in the deeper strata round the Shaft Graves. We may thus tentatively suggest as its lower limit the latter part of Late Minoan I., which would agree well with the evidence derived from its Phylakopi counterpart.

In general it is to be observed that the vases of Group I. are large and rather coarse, while those of Group II. are finer and smaller.[2] Since Group I. dates from the time when Grey Minyan Ware was at its height, the latter was probably used for finer and smaller vases, the Mattpainted Ware being confined to big domestic vessels only. Later, when Group II. emerged, Grey Minyan Ware was in its decline,[3] and consequently the typical vases of the second group are small and fine, but it must not be forgotten that there are Mattpainted vases of the large domestic class belonging to the second group, though their patterns are nearly all curvilinear and more widely spaced than on the corresponding vases of the first group.

Group III.

Wheel-made vases, red or brick-red in colour (rarely greenish-yellow), and decorated with broad lines in two colours, brown-black and red-purple, dividing the surface, which is often polished, into panels sometimes filled by birds, griffins, etc. The colours used are matt, and are frequently supplemented by the use of white to fill in the designs, which as a rule are confined to the upper part of the vase. The two most noticeable shapes are a squat round-bodied jug with a beaked spout and a tall large two-handled jar. Both these shapes are represented in the Sixth Shaft Grave,[4] which also contained some other vases of a similar style but with patterns in black only.[5] This ware is the Mattpainted Ware of Orchomenos III., and occurs at Corinth and at Mycenae[6] outside the Shaft Graves. As

[1] Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Myk. Thongefässe*, Pls. II. 6, 7; IV. 13, 16, 17, 18; V. 26, 27.

[2] The vases from Argos figured by Vollgraff, *op. cit.* p. 27, Figs. 43 ff., probably belong to this group: cf. also those from Geraki, *B.S.A.* xvi. pp. 73 ff. Figs. 3, 4.

[3] Both Groups I. and II. have been found associated in the 'pyres' excavated by Skias at Eleusis (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, pp. 29 ff., Figs. 6, 9, 10, 11; 1912, pp. 1 ff. Figs. 1 (Nos. 2, 3, 4), 7, and 9). The 'pyres' probably have nothing to do with burials or a cemetery, but are the carbonised débris of a prehistoric settlement.

[4] Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, Pls. VIII. 43, IX. 44.

[5] Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, Pls. X., XI., Nos. 46, 47, 51, 52, 53.

[6] Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, p. 54, § 3 *a*.

pointed out by Sir Arthur Evans,[1] the bichrome system of decoration characteristic of this group indicates a connection with the Melian 'black-and-red' ware[2] in which birds form a prominent feature of the decoration.

From its appearance in the Sixth Shaft Grave this ware, which has a much narrower range than the two preceding groups, can be dated more easily. The Sixth Shaft Grave, which is the earliest of the six, falls in the latter part of Middle Minoan III., so that we may assign this group to the same period, not forgetting at the same time that it probably covers also the early part of Late Minoan I.

III.—CHRONOLOGY.

From the above grouping of the three classes of pottery, which are, so far as known at present, the three principal pre-Mycenaean wares of South-Eastern Greece, it has been possible, as already indicated, to date them approximately in terms of the Minoan system established by Sir Arthur Evans. The synchronisms so far determined between Crete, the Cyclades, and the mainland may be set out in tabular form as follows:—

CRETE.	CYCLADES.	MAINLAND.
Early Minoan I.	Phylakopi, Sect. 2 ... ... Pelos, Amorgos, Siphnos, etc.	Early Helladic, Group I.
Early Minoan II.	Phylakopi, Sects. 3, 4 ...	Early Helladic, Groups I., II. Tombs at Corinth, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1897, pp. 313 ff.
Early Minoan III.	Phylakopi, Sects. 3, 4, 6 ... Vases from Syra (Chalandriane) and Naxos (Spedos).	Early Helladic Glaze Wares, Group II. do. Group III. begins.
Middle Minoan I.	Phylakopi, Sects. 6, 7 ...	Early Helladic Glaze Wares, Groups II., III.

[1] In his forthcoming work *The Palace of Minos*.

[2] *Phylakopi*, Pl. XXI. A beaked jug of the Sixth Shaft Grave type was also found at Phylakopi (*op. cit.* p. 159).

CRETE.	CYCLADES.	MAINLAND.
Middle Minoan II.	Phylakopi, Sect. 7 ... ... Grey Minyan begins. Red Burnished Ware. Kamares Ware.	Middle Helladic, Grey Minyan. Mattpainted, Group I. Aphidna.
Middle Minoan III. ... ... Melian Black-and-Red Vases and Mattpainted Ware, Group III., in Temple Repositories, Knossos.	Phylakopi, Sect. 9 ... ... Black-and-Red Ware.	Middle Helladic, Mattpainted, Groups II., III. Yellow Minyan. Shaft Graves begin.
Late Minoan I.	Phylakopi, Red-and-Black Ware. Imitations of L. M. I A. Importation of L. M. I B.	Late Helladic, Mattpainted, Groups II., III. end. Shaft Graves end. Golden Age of Mycenae and Tiryns. Vaphio and Kakovatos Tombs (= L. M. I B. imported Cretan Wares). Ephyraean Ware begins.
Late Minoan II.	Grey Minyan ends ... ... Cretan Imports cease.	Late Helladic, Grey and Yellow Minyan end. Ephyraean Ware ends. Cretan Imports cease. Golden Age of Mycenae and Tiryns ends.
Late Minoan III.	Imported Mycenaean Ware...	Late Helladic. Silver Age of Mycenae and Tiryns. Period of widest diffusion of Mycenaean Pottery.

TABLE SHOWING SUGGESTED SYNCHRONISMS.

This tabulation is provisional and has been drawn up as a convenient summary of the chronological evidence at present available for the pre-Mycenaean history of the mainland. Thessaly we have not included, for, as foreshadowed by Childe,[1] it will probably be necessary to set the Thessalian series further back than was suggested originally. The two points where the Thessalian series touches the southern,[2] the Early Helladic Ware of Lianokladi II. and Tsani IV. and the Minyan Ware of

[1] *J.H.S.* 1915, p. 200.

[2] Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, pp. 235 ff.

Lianokladi III. and of the Fourth Thessalian Period are not sufficiently definite, though another point of contact may be noted in the rugose ware of Tsani,[1] which has been found at Corinth. If the Early Helladic Ware of Tsani IV. and V. is Early Minoan III. or Middle Minoan I., it hardly seems possible that the Minyan Ware of Tsani VIII. can be Middle Minoan II. in view of the long intervening period, especially when we consider that almost everywhere in Thessaly where Minyan Ware appears, it comes either just before or together with Late Minoan III. Ware. This latter circumstance may be explained by assuming some telescoping of the upper strata of the Thessalian sites. The evidence from Hagia Marina[2] does not make the question any clearer. It remains for future careful stratigraphic excavations at this last site, at Lianokladi and one or two southern Thessalian sites such as Iolkos, the Magoula of Sourpi[3] and some site near Domokos to define more clearly the relationship between Thessaly and the south. We cannot now tell even approximately where the Early Helladic sherds from Tsani and the Grey Minyan Ware of Thessaly should come in the southern pottery sequence. In any case the Thessalian series apparently must be set further back, for on one site at Corinth a ware resembling Thessalian Second Period Wares has been found with and below Early Helladic Ware of Group II. Similar ware and sherds like those of the Thessalian Third Period have been found elsewhere at Corinth, but further examination of the earlier strata must take place before their true context can be determined.

This is only one of many problems that must be left for future consideration. Our object in this paper has been to attempt to provide a convenient basis from which, when modified and amplified by the results of future excavations, there may be constructed a fuller account of the civilisation on the mainland in the times immediately preceding the erection of the palaces and citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns. The glory of Tiryns and Mycenae was the climax of prehistoric art on the mainland of Greece and, as shewn conclusively by Sir Arthur Evans in his *Palace of Minos*, is derived from Crete. Yet though Minoan in origin, the Mycenaean civilisation is not merely transplanted from Crete, but is the fruit of the cultivated Cretan graft set on the wild stock of the mainland. This mainland stock, to judge by the affinities of Early Helladic Ware,

[1] Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 144. [2] Soteriades, *op. cit.*
[3] Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 10, No. 70.

seems originally to have belonged to the same species as the Cretan and Cycladic civilisations of the Early Bronze Age. The appearance of Minyan Ware in the Middle Minoan period marks, as regards the mainland at least, a break away from the earlier phase characterised by Early Helladic Ware. The period of Minyan Ware indicates the introduction of a new cultural strain, the origin of which is not yet clear, though some indications point to Phocis and others to the eastern shores of the Aegean as its home. Not so long after the culture marked by Minyan Ware had taken root on the mainland, Cretan (Minoan) influence made itself felt and profoundly modified its character by the introduction of a far higher standard of civilisation. Minyan Ware, which had supplanted the Early Helladic, then gradually merged into the mainland Mycenaean class of pottery. It is probable that divergences observed between the Late Minoan cultures of Crete and of the mainland are due to this absorption of Middle Helladic by Minoan. The underlying mainland element influenced the dominant Minoan art so as to make it Mycenaean as opposed to Cretan. It is impossible to tell how much of the Early Helladic element had been previously absorbed by Minyan Ware, though it must be admitted from the evidence at present before us, that there is a distinct break between the two, Early Helladic Ware disappearing almost completely on the advent of Minyan. Though Early Helladic Ware disappeared, it need not necessarily mean that the race that made it was extirpated, for it seems inconceivable that a race so numerous and so widespread, to judge merely by the distribution of Early Helladic Ware on the mainland, should have been obliterated.

The importance of the elucidation of this and kindred questions lies in the light they throw on the ethnological origin and affinities of the race that inhabited historical Greece, for all recent research tends to show that archaic and, consequently, classical Greek art was a renaissance—after it had lain dormant during a dark period of invasion and disturbance—of the same artistic spirit that inspired Knossos and Phaestos, Tiryns and Mycenae.

A. J. B. WACE.
C. W. BLEGEN.

DOCUMENTS FROM MYLASA.

THE notable series of legal documents from Mylasa and her small neighbour Olymos, which show how the landed investments of Carian temples were dealt with at the beginning of the second quarter of the first century B.C.,[1] have lately been somewhat neglected by scholars. Boeckh made a good beginning (*C.I.G.* 2693*e*, 2694), but Waddington was the first to edit and to explain these inscriptions intelligibly (L.B.W. iii. 323–416). Judeich made, in 1889–90, a valuable revision of Waddington's principal texts, besides contributing several new ones of his own (*Ath. Mitt.* xiv. pp. 367 f.; xv. pp. 259 f.). In 1891 Dareste, Haussoullier, and Reinach (*Inscr. jurid. gr.* i., p. 242–49) edited, with translations and commentary, the important documents copied in 1881 and 1888 by Hauvette-Besnault and Dubois (*B.C.H.* v. pp. 108–119) and by Cousin and Diehl (*B.C.H.* xii. p. 30). A number of new fragments were published without commentary by Hula and Szanto in 1895 (*Wien. S. Ber.* 132. ii. pp. 1 f.) and by G. Cousin in 1898 (*B.C.H.* xxii. pp. 380–402; 421–439).

For the past twenty years, however, little work has been done in this field. The close relationship between several pairs of the published fragments does not appear to have been noticed, and the correction needed by some texts in the light of more recent research has not been undertaken.

The present paper attempts to restore a few documents and to suggest emendations of others belonging to this series. Of the following texts I., II., III., V., VI., which are pieced together out of fragments long since known but hitherto unconnected, may to a certain extent be regarded as new; IV., VII., VIII. and the reprint of L.B.W. 325 on p. 195 are emended versions of texts already published but imperfectly restored. IX. is a note on L.B.W. 393.

[1] Waddington on L.B.W. 409, and Cousin, *B.C.H.* xxii. p. 433, give the reasons for fixing the date about 76 B.C.

I.

Two fragments: A, found at Mylasa, *B.C.H.* xxii. 1898, p. 381, n. 21; epigraphic copy, including a parallel column which is here omitted; B, found near the site of Olymos, *Wien. S. Ber.* 132, 1895, ii. p. 4, n. 1; text in minuscule only. No epigraphic copy of the whole inscription can here be given.

Though A and B are now separated by a journey of 1½ hours and exact particulars are lacking as to their script, there can be no doubt that both are parts of one and the same document. The stones on which they are engraved were originally built side by side into the wall of the temple or precinct at Olymos, and the chipping of the edges along the vertical joint between the stones has caused the loss in each line of 12 to 14 letters. A similar fate befell L.B.W. 323–4, which were long regarded[1] as the remains of two separate documents until Waddington saw that they form but a single one, and showed that a few letters only are missing between the right side of 323 and the left side of 324. His edition of that text supplies the key to the restoration of ours. For the sake of easy comparison, and in order to suggest a few emendations, L.B.W. 323–4 are therefore reprinted below under VII.

Our upper document (*α*) contains the final clauses of a *διεγγύησις* guaranteeing a lease under which the rent was payable in five instalments, the first being due at the beginning of the lease, while the four others payable annually thereafter were guaranteed by Diokles as surety. The similar ending of another *διεγγύησις*, from which the above restorations are borrowed, occurs in II. *γ* below. I owe in part to M. Haussoullier the restoration of l. 1.

That our fragments I. *α* and II. *γ* each belong to a *διεγγύησις* appears from their appendices naming the respective *ἔγγυοι*, for the only other document of the Mylasa series possessing such an appendix is our *διεγγύησις* VI. *β*.

The lower inscription (*β*) is a guarantee (*διεγγύησις*) by the Olymos commissioners for purchasing and letting the public lands (usually termed *κτηματῶναι* or *μισθωταί*) of the payment by Diogenes, priest of Eros, of

[1] *E.g.* by Froehner (*Inscr. gr. du Louvre*, 1865), who restores them separately as his Nos. 52 and 54.

I.

(*Fragment A*) (*Fragment B*)

(*a*)

π]οι[ησάμενος καταβολὰς πέντε, τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἣν ἔφασαν] ἀπέχ[ε]ιν οἱ προ[γεγραμμένοι ταμίαι ἅμα τῇι μισθώσει, τὰς δὲ λοι-]
(πὰ)ς ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσιόντος σ[τεφανηφόρου ἐφ' ἔτη τ]έσσαρα καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐμ μηνὶ Ξανδικῶι· εἰ δὲ μὴ [διορθώσηται, πράξουσιν οἱ ταμίαι
κατὰ τὸν πωλητικὸν νόμον [καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὑ]πάρξει αὐτῶι καθότι τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἡ γεγ[ενημένη μίσθωσις περιέχει.
ἔγγυος τῶν ὑπολοίπων τεσσά[ρων καταβολῶν το]ῦ ἐκ τῆς μισθώσεως ἀργυρίου Διοκλῆς Ἀριστίππου Π[αρεμβωρδεύς.

(*β*)

Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Μέλανο[ς . . . . .]ου μηνὸς Δίου τρίτη ἐπὶ δέκα, διηγγύησαν οἱ εἰρημέ[νοι ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ὀλυμε-
ων ἐπὶ τῆς μισθώσεως <εως> τῶν κ[τηματωνηθέντ]ων ἐγγαίων Δημήτριος Ἑρμίου τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου καθ' υἱ[οθεσίαν δὲ Αἰνέου Παρεμβωρδεύς, Ἡμα-
κλείδης Ἀσκληπιάδου Τε[τράφυλος, Διονύ]σιος Βακχίου Ἀγανίτης, Εὔδημος Μενεδήμου Μαννν[ίτης . . . . . .
Μαννίτης, Λέων Θαργηλίω[νος τοῦ . . . . . Μ]ασσωνεύς, Διονυσικλῆς Μενεκράτου Μαννίτης, Δ[ιόδοτος Μέλανος τοῦ Πολίτου ἱερεὺς
τῶν Διοσκόρων καὶ Εἰρηναῖο[ς Λέοντος Κορμ]οσκωνεῖς, Ἀριστέας Διονυσίου Παρεμβωρδεύς, Μεν[. . . . . .
στρατος Λέοντος Μαννιτ[. ., ...]τος Τετράφυλος, Διογένην Ἀριστίππου ἱερέα Ἔρωτος [Παρεμβωρδέα (?), μεμισθωμένον εἰς πατρι-
κὰ, καθότι ἔφασαν ἐψηφίσθαι [ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου Ὀλυ]μέων, κλῆρον ἐν τῆι Ὀλυμίδι τὸ(ν) ὀνομαζόμενον ἐν Κ(υ)[βίμοις . . . . . .
ὅς καί ἐστιν τρίτος τῶν διειρ[ημένων ὧν ἐπρίαν]το καθότι περιώρισται ὑπὸ τοῦ γεγενημένου διο[ρισμοῦ ἅμα τῆι μισθώσει τῆι χρηματισμέ-
νη ὑπὸ τῶν αἱρεθέντων ἀνδρῶ[ν ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δή]μου, σὺν τῆι προσούσηι ὀρεινῆι τ[ῶ]ι κλήρ[ω]ι τούτ[ω]ι καὶ τ[. . . . . καὶ ταῖς ἐ-
νούσαις ἀμπέλοις καὶ δένδρ[εσιν πᾶσιν, ἃ καὶ ἐκτηματώνηκαν οἱ αἱρεθέντες ἄνδρες παρὰ . . . . . τιμῆς τὰ πάντα ἀργυρίου Ῥοδίου
λεπτοῦ δραχμῶν ὀκτακισχ[ιλίων, ληψόμενοι φόρον καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος λιβανωτοῦ . . ⅛ . καὶ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς . . . . . ἄνεικον ἀνυ-
πόλογον, ἐφ' ὧι ὑπάρξει Διογέν[ει αὐτὰ εἰς πατρικὰ αὐτῶι καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἢ οἷς ἂν ἡ κληρονομία τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καθήκηι, τελέσει δὲ . . λιβα-
νωτοῦ καὶ φόρον τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ὀ[λυμέων ἄνεικον ἀνυπόλογον ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσιόντος στεφανηφόρου καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος δραχμὰς . . . . . .
. .] πεντήκοντα, ὃν καὶ διο[ρθώσεται τοῖς ἀεὶ καθισταμένοις ταμίαις . . . . .

the rent due under his lease. That this was the purport of our text appears from L.B.W. 323–4 (see VII. below), in which the same verb *διηγγύησαν* is employed, but where the guarantors are the treasurers (*ταμίαι*) of Olymos, not, as here, the *μισθωταί*.[1]

Of the individuals here mentioned, those already known from other inscriptions are :—

(1) Demetrios of Paremborda, whose name occurs in almost every document from Olymos.

(2) Herakleides Tetraphylos, mentioned in *B.C.H.* xxii. 1898, p. 394, n. 42 (=*Ath. Mitt.* xiv. 1889, p. 378), and in the companion text, L.B.W. 331.

(3) Eudemos of Maunna ; see *B.C.H.* xxii. p. 400, n. 48 (=*Ath. Mitt.* xiv. p. 374, n. 3), where he is styled priest of Artemis Stratia.

(4) Dionysikles of Maunna, like Demetrios of Paremborda, is named in almost all the Olymos documents. As he does not here bear his usual suffix *καθ' υἱοθεσίαν δὲ Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Διονυσικλέους*, our inscription must be of earlier date than most of those now extant.

(5, 6) Diodotos, priest of the Dioskoroi, and Eirenaios of Kormoskona are mentioned together in L.B.W. 331.

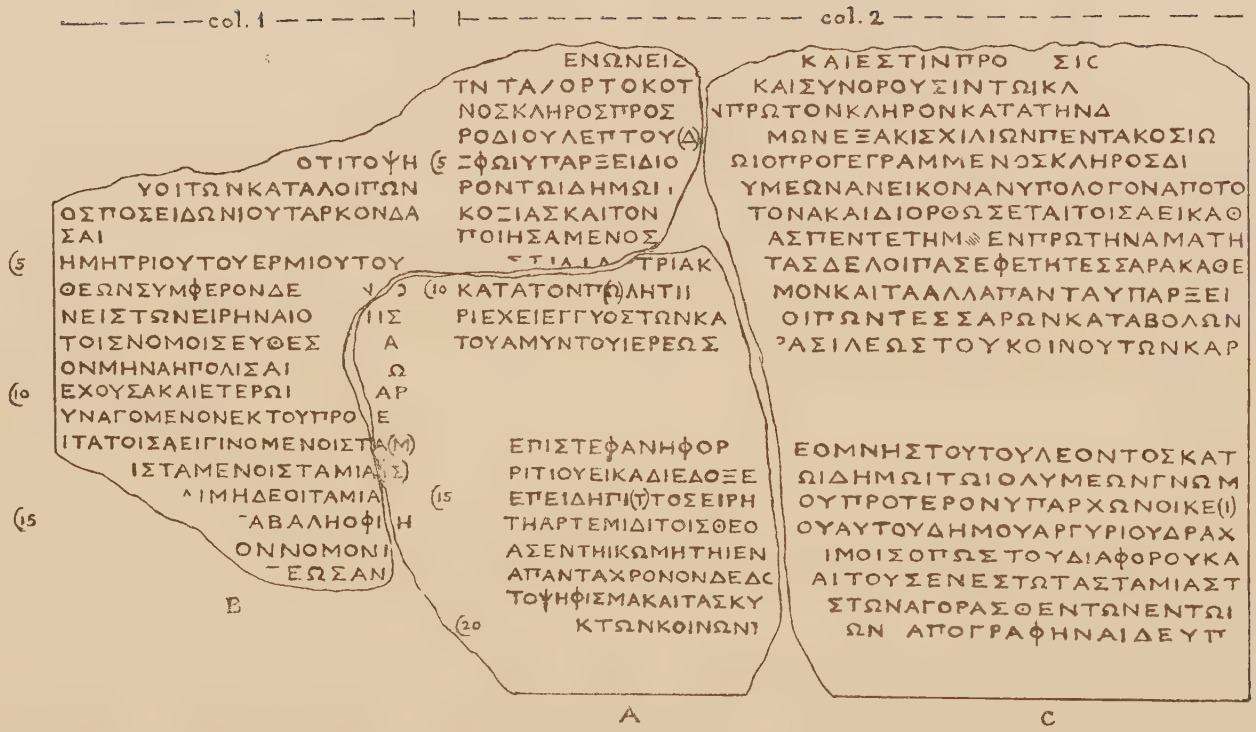
(7) Aristeas of Paremborda ; see L.B.W. 338 (cf. *Ath. Mitt.* xiv. p. 390).

(8) Diogenes, priest of Eros ; see *B.C.H.* xxii. p. 400, n. 48 (=*Ath. Mitt.* xiv. p. 374). We do not know that he was *Παρεμβωρδεύς*, as suggested in l. 10, but he may have been brother to Diokles, l. 4. In l. 5, the name of the magistrate may be *Μέλανο[ς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνί]ου* ; cf. L.B.W. 416, l. 2. As in II. *γ*, in L.B.W. 323–4 (see VII. below) and in *Ath. Mitt.* xv. 1890, p. 273, the rent is here (l. 16) payable partly in money, partly in frankincense (*λιβανωτός*). For payment wholly in kind, see p. 206 below.

The restorations in ll. 14–18 merely attempt to convey the probable purport of the original. In l. 2 *εἰσιόντος σ[τεφανηφόρου* is restored on the analogy of *ἱσταμένου στεφανηφόρου* in L.B.W. 327 (=*Ath. Mitt.* xiv. p. 371–2), see below III. l. 9. In l. 11, the reading *χρηματισμέ]νη* is supplied from the similar text L.B.W. 325.

This fragment L.B.W. 325 (=*B.C.H.* xxii. p. 396, n. 44), hitherto

[1] For the explanation of this, see p. 209, below.



II. Fragments A, B, C in their original position.

unintelligible, turns out to be part of a document closely resembling our text, and can now be restored as follows :—

Μ](α)υν[νίτης, Λέων Θαργηλίωνος κ.τ.λ. . . . . Μέλανος τοῦ Πολι-
του ἱερεὺς τῶν Διο[σκόρων καί Εἰρηναῖος Λέοντος κ.τ.λ. . . . . .
στρατος Λέοντος [Μαυννιτ . . . . . τος Τετράφυλος κ.τ.λ. . . . . εἰς πατρικὰ
καθότι ἔ(φ)ασαν ἐ(ψη)[φίσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κ.τ.λ. . . . . .
5 ὃς καί ἐστιν μέσος τ[ῶν διειρημένων κ.τ.λ. . . . . τῆι χρη-
μ(α)τισμένη ὑπὸ τῶν [αἱρεθέντων ἀνδρῶν κ.τ.λ. . . . . .
σιν ἐν τῆι παρὰ τῶι ποτ[αμῶι . . . . . .
Περσεὺς, χωρὶς δὲ τῆς . . . . .
. . . . (φ)όρου καθ' ἕκασ[τον ἔτος . . . . .
10 αὐτῶι καὶ τοῖς (ἐ)[ξ αὐτοῦ ἢ οἷς ἂν ἡ κληρονομία κ.τ.λ. . . . . ἀπὸ
τοῦ εἰσιόντος [στεφανηφόρου . . . . .

The above copy is based on that of Le Bas, which in several lines is better than Cousin's (*B.C.H.* xxii. 1898, p. 396) because the stone when seen by Judeich (*Ath. Mitt.* xiv. 1889, p. 387) was already much more worn than when Le Bas copied it.

Since the beginnings of ll. 2–6 in this fragment agree almost exactly with those of ll. 9–13 in I.β, we may infer that the contents of the two inscriptions were almost identical. Moreover the word μέσος (*scil.* κλῆρος) in L.B.W. 325, l. 5, compared with τρίτος in I.β, l. 12, suggests that L.B.W. 325 is the fragment of a document (διεγγύησις) guaranteeing the rent of the second, or middle, portion of a property which had been divided into three κλῆροι, while I.β guaranteed that of the third κλῆρος. Ll. 7–8 of L.B.W. 325 do not correspond with I.β l. 14, probably owing to differences in the descriptions of the two κλῆροι, but the resemblance between the two texts seems to have reappeared in L.B.W. 325, ll. 9–11[1] and in I.β, ll. 15–17.

II.

Three fragments A, B, C, published *B.C.H.* xxii. 1898, pp. 392–4, nos. 39, 40, 41, all found in the same house near the site of Olymos. A is published also in *Ath. Mitt.* xiv. 1889, p. 384, Nos. 7–8, and B in *Wien. Sitzungsber.* 132, 1895, ii. p. 6, n. 4. Cousin's copies are here combined so as to show their original connexion. The letters within round brackets are those more correctly rendered in the other epigraphic copies.

[1] The reading (ἐ)[ξ in L.B.W. 325, l. 10, is due to M. Haussoullier, who points out that Β, the ast letter in the line, as read by Cousin (*B. C.H.* xxii. p. 396), may well have been an error for Ε.

II.—*Col.* I.

(*a*)

. . . . καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὑπάρξει αὐτῶι καθ]ότι τὸ ψή-
φισμα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἡ γεγενημένη μίσθωσις περιέχει. ἔγγ]υοι τῶν καταλοίπων
. . . . . καταβολῶν τοῦ ἐκ τῆς μισθώσεως ἀργυρίου . . . . .]ος Ποσειδωνίου Ταρκονδα-
οεὺς καὶ . . . . . μάρτυρες δικα]σ(τ)αί.

(*β*)

5 Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου. . . . . μηνὸς . . . . . ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ὀλυμέων, γνώμην ἀποφηναμένου Δ]ημητρίου τοῦ Ἑρμίου τοῦ
Ἀντιπάτρου καθ' υἱοθεσίαν δὲ Αἰνέου Παρεμβωρδέως· ἐπειδὴ ὑπάρχει τῶι δήμωι ἱερὸν ἀργύριον Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος τοῦ δήμου] θεῶν, συμφέρον δέ [ἐστι]ν [τ]ὸ
Εἰρηναίου ἔγγαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κτηματωνηθῆναι· δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι τοὺς κτηματῶνας λαβόντας εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τὸ ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν προδα]νειστῶν Εἰρηναί(ω)[ι . . .]ησ-
. . . παραδιδόναι, τὸ δὲ προγεγραμμένον ἔγγαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κτηματωνησάντας ἀκολούθως τοῖς τε προεψηφισμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ] τοῖς νόμοις Εὐθεσ[ίαι . . .]α-
. . . . μισθῶσαι εἰς πατρικὰ φόρου καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος τῶι δήμωι ἀργυρίου Ῥοδίου λεπτοῦ δραχμῶν διακοσίων πεντήκοντα, ἐὰν δὲ τὸν ἐμβόλιμ]ον μῆνα ἡ πόλις ἄ[γη διορθώ-
10 σεται καὶ τοῦ ἐμβολίμου τὸ κατὰ λόγον· ἐφ' ὧι ἔξει αὐτὸ εἰς πατρικὰ αὐτὴ καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἢ οἷς ἂν ἡ κληρονομία τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καθήκη, ἐξουσίαν] ἔχουσα καὶ ἑτέρωι [αὐτὸ ἀ]ρ-
αχωρεῖν καὶ οὐ καταμεριεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ οὐχ ὑπάρξει αὐτῆι ἡ μίσθωσις· ἀποδώσουσιν δὲ οἱ κτηματῶναι τοῖς ἐνεστῶσι ταμίαις τὸν σ]υναγόμενον ἐκ τοῦ προ[δ]ε-
δανεισμένου ἀργυρίου τόκον· τελέσει δὲ φόρον ἑκάστου ἔτους ἄνεικον ἀνυπόλογον ἐν μηνὶ . . . . . δραχμὰς διακοσίας πεντήκον]τα τοῖς ἀεὶ γινομένοις ταμ-
ίαις, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διορθώσηται Εὐθεσία τὸν φόρον ὀφιλήσει ἡμιόλιον· ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔσται τοῦ φόρου ἑκάστου ἔτους τοῖς ἀεὶ καθ]ισταμένοις ταμίαις
τοῦ Ὀλυμέων δήμου πράσσουσιν κατὰ τὸν πωλητικὸν νόμον παρὰ τῆς ἐχούσης αὐτό· . . . . . α]ι μηδὲ οἱ ταμία[ι
15 . . . . . ἐὰν δὲ δὶς ἐφεξῆς μὴ κατ]αβάλη ὀφι[λ]ή-
σει μὲν καὶ τὴν καταβολὴν ταύτην ἡμιολίαν καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρξει αὐτῆι ἡ μίσθωσις, πράξουσιν δὲ τὸν φόρον τὸν ἐν ἑκατέραι ταμιείαι κατὰ τὸν πωλητικ]ὸν νόμον [πα-
ρὰ τῆς μισθωσαμένης οἱ ἐνεστῶτες ταμίαι . . . . .]εως ἀν-

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II.—*Col.* 2.

(γ)

. . . . . ενων εἰς . . . . . [ὃς] καί ἐστιν πρ(ῶ)[το]ς (τῷ)[ν . . . . . .
. . . τὰ [χ]ορτοκο(π)[εῖα] καὶ συνοροῦσιν τῶι κλ[ήρωι . . . . . ὁ διειρημέ-
νος κλῆρος πρὸς [τὸ]ν πρῶτον κλῆρον κατὰ τὴν δ[ιαίρεσιν τῶν γεῶν ὧν ἐπρίαντο οἱ αἱρεθέντες ἄνδρες τιμῆς μὲν τὰ πάντα ἀργυρίου
Ῥοδίου λεπτοῦ δ[ραχ]μῶν ἑξακισχιλίων πεντακοσίω[ν, φόρου δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος λιβανωτοῦ . . . . καὶ ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν . . . . . .
[ἐ]φ' ὧι ὑπάρξει Διο[δότ]ωι ὁ προγεγραμμένος κλῆρος δι[ειρημένος πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον κλῆρον εἰς ἔτη πέντε, τελέσει δὲ τὸν φό-
ρον τῶι δήμωι [τῶι Ὀλ]υμέων ἄνεικον ἀνυπόλογον ἀπὸ το[ῦ εἰσιόντος στεφανηφόρου καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς . . .
κο[σ]ίας καὶ τὸν [λιβανω]τὸν, ἃ καὶ διορθώσεται τοῖς ἀ(ε)ὶ καθ[ισταμένοις ταμίαις τοῦ Ὀλυμέων δήμου . . . . . .
ποιησάμενος [καταβολ]ὰς πέντε, τὴμ [μ]ὲν πρώτην ἅμα τῆ[ι μισθώσει τῆι χρηματισμένη ὑπὸ τῶν αἱρεθέντων ἀνδρῶν μηνὸς
. . . . . τριακ[άδι], τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἐφ' ἔτη τέσσαρα καθ' ἕ[καστον ἔτος ἐμ μηνὶ . . . . . εἰ δὲ μὴ διορθώσηται, πράξουσιν οἱ ταμίαι
κατὰ τὸν πωλητι[κὸν νό]μον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὑπάρξει [αὐτῶι καθότι τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἡ γεγενημένη μίσθωσις πε-
ριέχει. ἔγγυος τῶν κα[ταλ]οίπων τεσσάρων καταβολῶν [τοῦ ἐκ τῆς μισθώσεως ἀργυρίου . . . . . .
τοῦ Ἀμύντου ἱερέως [καὶ β]ασιλέως τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Καρ[ῶν. μάρτυρες δικασταί.

(δ)

Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρ[ου Θ]εομνήστου τοῦ Λέοντος κατ[ὰ δὲ νίοθεσίαν Διοκλείους τοῦ Πολυκλείτου, μηνὸς Πε-
ριτίου εἰκάδι· ἔδυξε[ν τ]ῶι δήμωι τῶι Ὀλυμέω[ν] γνώμ[ην ἀποφηναμένου . . . . . .
ἐπειδὴ Πίττος Εἰρη[ναί]ου πρότερον ὑπάρχων οἰκεῖ[ος καὶ φίλος τῶι δήμωι κατέλιπεν τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ
τῆ Ἀρτέμιδι τοῖς θεο[ῖς τ]οῦ αὐτοῦ δήμου ἀργυρίου δραχ[μὰς . . . . χιλίας, συμφέρον δέ ἐστιν κτηματωνηθῆναι γέ-
ας ἐν τῆι κώμη τῆι ἐν [Κυβ]ίμοις ὅπως τοῦ διαφόρου κα[ταλελειμμένου πρόσοδος ὑπάρχη τοῖς θεοῖς εἰς τὸν
ἅπαντα χρόνον· δεδ[όχθ]αι τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας ταμίας τ[ὰς προγεγραμμένας γέας κτηματωνῆσαι, ἀναγράψαι δὲ τοῦτο
τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰς κυ[ριεία]ς τῶν ἀγορασθέντων ἐν τῶι [ἱερῶι τῶν προγεγραμμένων θεῶν, τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα δοθῆ-
ναι ἐ]κ τῶν κοινῶν π[ροσόδ]ων, ἀπογραφῆναι δὲ ὑπ[ὸ τὴν ὠνὴν τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ ἀντίγραφον.

We have here the fragments of four documents: *Col.* I (*α*) end of a διεγγύησις with the same appendices as in VI. *β*; *Col.* I (*β*) beginning of a ψήφισμα authorising the purchase of certain land and the letting of the same to a woman; *Col.* 2 (*γ*) latter part of a διεγγύησις guaranteeing the lease of a κλῆρος of land, the rent of which was payable in five annual instalments: cf. I. *α*; *Col.* 2 (*δ*) a ψήφισμα, eight lines in length, directing that a fund left or given to the gods by Pittos be invested in the purchase of certain lands.

II. (*α*)

This small fragment must belong to a διεγγύησις with appendix giving the names of the persons guaranteeing the payment of the rent: cf. I. *α* and II. *γ*.

A second appendix, mentioning the δικασταί, is restored in l. 4, as suggested by M. Haussoullier. Cf. VI. *β*, l. 17.

II. (*β*).

Notwithstanding the shortness of the fragments preserved, the substance of this document can plainly be made out from L.B.W. 332 (= *Ath. Mitt.* xiv. 1889, p. 383), ll. 1–5. As the simplest method of explaining the subject matter the lines are restored *exempli gratia*, though their original length is of course uncertain. In l. 7 I read Εἰρηναί(ω)[ι because in these inscriptions Ο and Ω are easily confused by copyists.[1] The lessee seems to have been named Εὐθεσία (l. 8): cf. the names Εὐμορφία, Εὐπραξία, etc. The fragmentary words at the ends of ll. 7 and 8 appear to be patronymics. Ll. 10–11 are restored from L.B.W. 328, l. 2: ἐξουσίαν ἔχων καὶ ἑτέρωι παραχ[ωρ]εῖν καὶ οὐ καταμεριεῖ[ν; ll. 13–14 from *B.C.H.* v. 1881, pp. 110–11, ll. 12–13; and ll. 15–16 from L.W.B. 331, ll. 14–15.

II. (*γ*).

This document may, like a lease, have ended with the mention both of the δικασταί and of the νομοφύλαξ, who, as we know from *B.C.H.* v. pp. 110–11 (= *I.J.G.* i. pp. 246–8), l. 14, were required to witness leases

[1] *E.g.* in our II. (δ), l. 17, Judeich reads ΚΟΜΗ, Cousin ΚΩΜΗ.

made by public bodies.[1] As it obviously is neither an *ὠνή* nor an *ἔμβασις*, it must, like our I. *α*, be a *διεγγύησις* guaranteeing the rent of a lease to Διό[δοτ]ος or Διό[δωρ]ος.

L. 2 the word *χορτοκοπεῖα* (= 'meadows'), which appears to suit the letters preserved, is, if rightly restored, one of the topographical terms with which these inscriptions abound. Thus in a single text (*Ath. Mitt.* xiv. p. 374, n. 3 = *B.C.H.* xxii p. 400, n. 48) are mentioned *αἰμασία μακρά, καλαμών, σωροβόλιον, πύργος, ζμηνών, φρέαρ.*

In ll. 3, 5 *διαίρεσιν, διειρημένος* are restored because, as in I. *β*, l. 12, the subdivision of a large estate seems to have taken place. For the restoration *διειρημένος πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον κλῆρον* in ll. 3, 5, cf. L.B.W. 416 (= *I.J.G.* i. pp. 244–6), l. 3: *διελόμενος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν.*

In l. 4 the reference to the price of the property, 6,500 drachmae, finds parallels in I. *β*, l. 12, in *C.I.G.* 2694, *b*, 12, and in L.B.W. 416, 5.

L. 7: the restoration [λιβανω]τόν is confirmed by I. *β*, l. 17, by L.B.W. 323–4, l. 11 and by *Ath. Mitt.* xv. 1890, p. 273, n. 21, ll. 7–10, which I think we should restore as follows:—

ἐμίσθωσαν δ[ὲ αὐτὰ Ἀλάσται Πρωτέου εἰς
πατρικὰ παραχρῆμα μὲν τοῦ ἐξευρόντος ἀργυρίου δρα[χμῶν . . . . . εἰς ἔτη
δέκα, εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δρα[χμῶν . . . . . καὶ λιβανω-
τοῦ μνᾶς καὶ ἐλαίου ὑδρίας, ἐφ' ὧι τε ἔξει κ.τ.λ.

Ll. 8–9 show that the rent was here, as in I. *α*, payable in five annual instalments. Hence I have ventured to restore in l. 5 *εἰς ἔτη πέντε*. If this is correct, these two are the only instances yet found at Olymos or Mylasa of a term so short as five years. As to the restoration of l. 8, M. Haussoullier pointed out that the first instalment must have been payable when the lease was made, because only the four deferred instalments are here guaranteed, as they also are in I. *α*.

As in No. I., much of the restoration here suggested is uncertain and merely explanatory. That proposed in the first line is based on I. *β*, l. 12, and on L.B.W. 325, l. 5.

L. 12: with this *βασιλεύς* of the Karian *κοινόν* cf. the *βασιλέα Ἰώνων* of *O.G.I.* 489.

[1] The rule laid down in *B.C.H.* v. pp. 110–11, l. 14 applies to a lease made by the *φυλή* of the Otorkondeis at Mylasa, but as this document is contemporary with the series from Olymos we may assume that the same rule applied also to leases made by the *δῆμος* of the Olymeis.

II. (δ).

This decree of the *demos* of Olymos can be restored with approximate certainty because the name of the *stephanephoros*, a well-known personage (cf. L.B.W. 415 ; *Ath. Mitt.* xv. 1890, p. 268 = Michel, 725), gives the length of the lines.

The laudatory preamble (l. 15) shows that the decree deals, not with a sale or lease, but with some benefaction such as a gift or bequest. That a bequest is the more probable seems to follow from the mention of *πρότερον* ; hence the restoration *τοῦ διαφόρου κα[ταλελειμμένου.* If that interpretation is correct, this is the only decree from Mylasa-Olymos in which directions are given for investing in the purchase of land a particular fund (*διάφορον*) belonging to the gods. In l. 15 the reading Πίττος (Judeich) seems preferable to Πίστος (Cousin), because a name so uncommon[1] would hardly have been copied unless seen on the stone ; *οἰκεῖ[ος καὶ φίλος* is restored on the analogy of *οἰκει]ότητα καὶ φιλίαν* : L.B.W. 432. The phrasing of l. 17 is based on *I.J.G.* i. p. 246–8, ll. 14–15 : *καὶ ὑπαρχέτω ὁ φόρος τῶι θεῶι ἐν προσόδωι.*

For the instruction in ll. 18–19 cf. L.B.W. 332 : *ἀναγραψαμένους τὰς κυριείας αὐτῶν* ; and for the restoration of l. 20 cf. L.B.W. 331, l. 17 : *ἀπογραψάτω]σαν ὑπὸ τὴν μίσθωσιν τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ ἀντίγραφον.*

III.

Two fragments, found like those of I. (p. 191, above) several miles apart : A, from Mylasa, published *B.C.H.* xii. 1888, p. 31, n. 10, epigraphic copy only ; B, from Olymos, now in the Louvre, published L.B.W. 327 and more correctly in *Ath. Mitt.* xiv. 1889, p. 371, but with incomplete restoration.

We cannot be certain that these fragments were originally parts of one and the same text, because, except in ll. 10–11, there is no close connexion between any line of A and the corresponding line of B, and because the particulars available as to the script of A are insufficient to prove its identity with that of B.[2] The reasons for thus connecting these fragments are stated in the notes below.

[1] Cf. the name Πίτταs at Aphrodisias ; *C.I.G.* 2749.

[2] The lettering of A as rendered in type is, however, consistent with the date of B, whereas it is quite inconsistent with the relationship to L.B.W. 449 suggested by Cousin and Diehl.

III.

Fragment A (ll. 6–13). *Fragment B* (ll. 1–13).

Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου . . . . . καθ' υἱοθεσίαν δὲ Λαμ]πρίου τοῦ Μενίππου μηνὸς Δύστρου δευτέ[ραι, ἀνεμίσθ]ωσαν (?) οἱ εἰρημένοι μισθ[ωταὶ ὑπὸ
τοῦ Ὀλυμέων δήμου Δημήτριος Ἑρμίου τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου καθ' υἱ]οθεσίαν δὲ Αἰνέου καὶ Φαῖδρος Μοσχίωνος [ἱερ]ε[ὺ]ς Δαιμό]νων Ἀγαθῶν Παρεμβω[ρδεῖς καὶ
Διονυσικλῆς Μενεκράτου καθ' υἱοθεσίαν δὲ Ἀρτεμιδώρου το]ῦ Διονυσ[ικλ]έους Μαυννίτης καὶ Ἰάσων [Μοσχίωνος Παρεμβωρδεὺ]ς καὶ Ἀντίπατρ[ος Ἀπολ-
λωνίου καὶ Ἀντίπατρος Ἑρμίου τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου Κορμοσκωνεῖς] καὶ Ἀπο[λ]λώνιος Λέοντος καὶ Ἀρτ[έμ]ω[ν Εὐπολέμου Κ]ο[ρμοσκω]ν[εῖ]ς καὶ Δημήτριο[ς Ἐπαινέ-
201 5 του Τετράφυλος . . . . . καὶ . . . . .]ρου Μαυννίτη γῆς ἱερᾶς Ἀπόλλ[ωνος καὶ] Ἀ[ρ]τ[έ]μιδος θεῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ δήμου τῆς ἐν τ[ῇι Ὀλυ-
μίδι κλῆρον, καθότι] καὶ αὐτῶι ὑ[πῆρχεν τῶι μισθωσαμένωι, σ]ὺν ταῖς ἐνούσαις ἀμπέλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δένδρεσι πᾶσιν ἕως τῆς ἁρπέζου τῆς Διον[υσι-
κλέου]ς α . . . . . απο . ων [. . . . . καὶ] τὴν φυτείαν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ [ἐγγαίου] ὃ πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο Συκῶν τὸ ἄνω μέρος ὡς τὰ ὄρη[α πέ-
πηγεν πρὸς Ἑκατόμνων] ἀπὸ τῶν [. . . . . ἐφ' ὧι ἔξει τὴν πρ]ογεγραμμένην γῆν [ὁ μισθωσάμεν]ος αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἢ οἷς ἂν ἡ κληρονομία τῶν ὑπαρχόν[των
καθήκη· τοῦ δὲ] μισθωσαμένου τῆ π[όλει ὀφείλοντος Ἀρτεμισίου μη]νὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱστα[μέν]ο[υ] σ[τε]φ[α]ν[η]φόρου καὶ [τῆ]ς τριακ[ά]δος ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δικοσίας δι-
10 λόντ]ες τὸν ὀφειλόμενον φόρον τ[ελέσουσιν ἕκαστος καθ' ἕκασ]τον ἔτος τοῖς τα[μί]αις τοῦ Ὀλυμέων δήμου ἐν μη[ν]ὶ Ἀρτεμισίωι ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἐν-
ενεή]κοντα ἐννέα ὀβολοὺς δύο [ἄνεικον ἀνυπόλογον, ἐὰν δὲ τὸν ἐμ]βόλιμον μῆ[να] ἡ πόλις ἄγη τὸ κατὰ λόγον κ[α]ὶ τ[ο]ῦ [ἐμβ]ολίμου μηνὸς, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὑπαρ[χέτω αὐτοῖς
καὶ ἀ]ποτεισάτω ἕκαστος τὸ ἐπιβά[λλον μέρος τῶν προσπιπτόντων] τῶι μ[ισθωσαμένωι] καθότι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ὀλυμέων [κεκυρ]ωμένον ψήφι[σμα περιέχει
περὶ γεῶν δημο]σίων, καὶ ἡ πρᾶξι[ς τοῦ φόρου κατ' αὐτῶν ἔστω κατὰ] τ[ὸ ψήφισμα τὸ προγεγραμ]μένον. μάρτυρες δικασταί.

This document appears to contain a transfer, or a new lease, by the *μισθωταί* of Olymos, of a plot of land belonging to Apollo and Artemis to the two lessees whose names have been lost in l. 5. The original lessee (*μισθωσαμένου*, l. 9) had sublet the property, paying only, as in IV. (see below), one drachme of the original rent of 200 drachmae (l. 9). The balance of 199 drachmae was divided between two sub-lessees each of whom paid 99½ drachmae (ll. 10–11).[1] We may assume that, as in IV., the original sub-lessees had defaulted and that it became necessary to make this new lease (*ἀναμίσθωσις*); cf. IV. *a*, ll. 12–13.

The length of the lines is known from the names in ll. 2–4; see *Ath. Mitt.* xiv. 1889, p. 369, nos. 1–2, where l. 2 should read *ὃ πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο Συκῶν τὸ ἄνω μέρος ὡς τὰ ὅρια πέπηγεν π*]*οὸς Ἑκατόμνων κ.τ.λ.* This supplies the restoration for ll. 7–8 of our text, the other gaps in which have been filled up, so far as possible, to suit the sense required.

Besides the agreement between A and B relative to the monies mentioned in ll. 9–11, the fact that both fragments belong to one document may be inferred from (1) comparison of l. 6 with L.B.W. 336, l. 8, and of ll. 10–11 with L.B.W. 416, ll. 9–10; (2) the ease with which the extant parts of ll. 12–13 can be joined, and the correctness with which the *πρᾶξις* clause appears in the last line. These signs of relationship between A and B are too many to be explained as coincidences. L.B.W. 327, as published both by Waddington and by Judeich, is utterly obscure; the addition of fragment A makes it for the first time intelligible.

L. 1: Judeich's restoration *ἀνεγρά*]*φ*[*η*]*σαν* is unsatisfactory and unsupported by the original text. Our reading *ἀνεμίσθ*]*ωσαν* is based on a revision of the stone kindly made by M. Haussoullier and M. Michon, who state that in l. 1 there is no Φ, but that just before . . . *σαν* there are traces of a round letter which may have been Ω.

L. 4: Ἀρτ[*έμ*]*ω*[*ν Εὐπολέμου* should here be read, instead of *Μενεδήμου* (Judeich). He again appears along with *Ἀπολλώνιος Λέοντος* in *B.C.H.* xxii. 1898, p. 398, n. 48, ll. 4, 14.

L. 12: For *τὰ προσπίπτοντα* as here restored, in the sense of 'charges falling on,' see L.B.W. 404, l. 8. It is natural that each sub-lessee should have borne his share of the charges levied on the tenant.

[1] It would seem that, while the ordinary *drachme* was equivalent to the *denarius*, the lighter Rhodian *drachme* was equal to two-thirds of a *denarius*: Pauly, *R.E.* v. 219, 1619. A half-*drachme* of Rhodian silver would therefore consist, as here, of two, not of three, *oboloi*.

IV.

This text (= L.B.W. 483) contains two parallel columns from the left one of which (*a*) the left side is missing, and from the right one (*b*) the right side. It was edited by Waddington from Le Bas' copy made near Mylasa, and is now republished with fuller restoration because it throws light on III, on V and on VI.

IV. (= L.B.W. 483). *a* (*left column*).

. . . τ]ῶν [δι]ακοσίων δραχμῶν α . . . .
. . . . μισθ]ωσάτωσαν τὴν κτῆσιν, καὶ [τῶι μ]εμισθω-
μένωι ἐξέστω παραχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐφ' οἷς] μεμίσθωται· ἐὰν δὲ βουλομένου Δημη-
τρίου παραχωρεῖν παραλάβη τις ταύτην τὴν μ]ίσθωσιν παρὰ Δημητρίου, ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ἀ(ρ)-
5 γύριον ὀφειλέτω ἑκάτερος κατὰ τὰ προγεγ]ραμμένα διελθόντων ἐτῶν δέκα ἀπὸ τῆς
γεγενημένης μισθώσεως· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον κο]μίζωνται οἱ συγγενεῖς <τ>οῦ τελέσει οὔτε
τὸν λιβανωτὸν (?) οὔτε . . . . . δ]ιακοσίων δραχμῶν οὔτε τὸ ἔλαιον· οὐδὲ ὀ[φει-
λων φόρον παραχωρήσει· ἄρξει δὲ αὐτῶι τῆς μι]σθώσεως μὴν Ἀρτεμίσιος ὁ ἐπὶ στεφανη-
φόρου . . . . . ἱερέ]ως Ποσειδῶνος Ἰσθμίου· ἀποδόντος δὲ Δη-
10 μητρίου ἢ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἢ τοῦ παραλαβόντος τ]ὸ ἀργύριον τῆι συγγενείαι καθότι προγέ-
γραπται, τελείτω τῆι συγγενείαι Δημήτριος] καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος τὴν δραχμήν· ἐὰν δὲ
μὴ τελέση τὸν φόρον ὁ παραλαβών, ἔσται τῶν ἀ]εὶ καθ.σταμένων ταμιῶν (ἡ) ἀναμίσθωσις
δραχμῶν διακοσίων καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος παρὰ τὴν] δραχμήν· ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω τοῦ φόρου τοῖς
ἀεὶ γινομένοις ταμίαις κατά τε Δημητρίου καὶ τ]οῦ παραλαβόντος· δεδύχθαι δὲ καὶ ἀνα(γρ)ά-
15 ψαι τὸν τῆς μισθώσεως χρηματισμὸν τοὺς ἐνεστ]ῶτας ταμίας ἐκπορευομένων τὸν πυ-
λῶνα ἀπὸ τοῦ . . . . . ἐπὶ δεξ]ιά, τὴν δὲ δαπάνην λαβέτωσαν ἐκ τῶν
κοινῶν προσόδων καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν μισθωσάτ]ωσαν εἰς πατ[ρι]κὰ καθότι προγέγραπται.
καὶ ἀνέγραψαν τὸ ψήφισμα οἱ εἰς τοῦτο ἀπ]οτεταγμένοι ταμίαι Διονύσιος Πο-
λίτου, Δ . . . . .]ίου, Δημή[τρ]ιος Παω[μ]ένου, Μέλ[ας Διογένου,
[Ἀπο . . . . . Μέλας Θυίλλου, Δημήτριος κτλ.]

IV. (= L.B.W. 483). *b* (*right column*).

δια[κοσίω]ν (δ)[ραχμῶν] ο[ὔτε τὸ ἔ]λαιον· οὐδὲ ὀ[φείλων φόρον παραχωρήσει· ἄρξει δὲ αὐτῶι τῆς μισ-
θώσεως μὴν Λώιος ὁ ἐπὶ στεφανηφ[όρου . . . . . ἱερέως Ποσει-
δῶνος Ἰσθμίου· ποι[ησά]σης δὲ Μαί[ας αὐτῆς ἢ τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἢ οἷς ἂν ἡ κληρονομία τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων καθήκηι [ἢ τ]οῦ παραλαβόν[τος τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τοῦ ἀργυρίου τῆι συγγενείαι
5 καθότι γέγραπται, τελείτω τῆι συγ[γενείαι ἡ μεμισθωμένη καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος τὴν δρα-
χμὴν ἄλλο δὲ μηθέν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ τ[ελέση τὸν φόρον ὁ παραλαβών, ἔσται τῶν ἀεὶ καθισ-
ταμένων ταμιῶν ἡ ἀναμίσθωσις δ[ραχμῶν διακοσίων καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος παρὰ τὴν
δραχμήν· ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔσται τοῦ φό,[ου τοῖς ἀεὶ γινομένοις ταμίαις κατά τε Μαίας
καὶ τοῦ παραλαβόντος· δεδόχθαι [δὲ καὶ ἀναγράψαι ταῦτα τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας ταμίας
10 ἐκπορευομένων τὸμ πυλῶνα ἀπ[ὸ τοῦ . . . . . ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, τὴν δὲ δα-
πάνην λαβέτωσαν ἐκ τῶν κοινῶ[ν προσόδων καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν μισθωσάτωσαν εἰς πα-
τρικὰ καθότι προγέγραπται. καὶ ἀ[νέγ[ραψαν τὸ ψήφισμα οἱ εἰς τοῦτο ἀποτεταγμένοι
ταμίαι Διονύσιος Πολίτου, Δ[. . . . .]ίου, Δημήτριος
Παμμένου, Μέλας Διογένου, Ἀπο[. . . . . .
15 Μέλας Θυίλλου, Δημήτριος Πλου[τίαδου, ...

Waddington's version is manifestly inadequate and is disfigured by the strange *συγγενεῖς τοῦ Τελεσείου* of *a*, 6, repeated by him in *b*, 5. A fresh attempt at restoration seems, therefore, to be worth making. That of *a*, 1–6, must to a great extent be tentative and uncertain. We can but fill the gaps with echoes from other texts according to the hints given by the later lines. On the other hand, the parallel passages, *a*, 7–18, and *b*, 1–15, restore one another, so to speak, with certainty.

Not only were the two columns *a* and *b* originally of equal width, as Waddington points out, but they contained contemporary documents, the terms of which differ but slightly. In *a* is a *ψήφισμα* authorising a lease to Demetrios; in *b* a similar document in favour of Maia. Like the phrasing of I. *β* and L.B.W. 325 (see above) that of these parallel decrees is almost the same in each column. In each the lessee has the right to assign the lease (*παραχωρεῖν*), and after he has paid up in full a certain sum (*τὸ ἀργύριον*, *a*, 10) due to the landlord, he need pay only 1 drachme per annum, the remaining rent (199 drachmae) being paid by the assignee (*ὁ παραλαβών*). In case this assignee defaulted in such payment, the rent was recoverable either from him or from the lessee.[1] A concrete instance of the payment by two assignees of the whole rent except one drachme is seen above in III., ll. 10–11.

In *a*, 5 it is interesting to note that a break or alteration in the terms of the lease occurred at the end of 10 years. Other instances of this may be seen in V., ll. 1–2 below, in L.B.W. 404, l. 13, and in *Ath. Mitt.* xv. 1890, p. 273. n. 21 (cited above, p. 199).

The clause restored in *a*, 7–8 and in *b*, 1 is taken from *B.C.H.* v. p. 110–11 (= *I.J.G.* i. p. 246–8), l. 9: *οὐ παραχωρήσει δὲ οὐδὲ ὀφείλων φόρον*.

V.

Two fragmentary texts of which epigraphic copies only are published by G. Cousin, *B.C.H.* xxii. 1898, pp. 396–97, n. 45, fragments *a*, *c*. Fragment *b*, which belongs to a separate document, appears below as VI.

Proof of the connexion between these pieces *a*, *c*, which preserve parts of two distinct documents, will be found in the notes below.

[1] The reason why the lessee continued to pay the one drachme was doubtless that such an annual payment kept alive his liability to make good any possible arrears of rent.

V. (*a*)

Fragment a. *Fragment c.*

ἐγγύους κατὰ τ[ὸν νόμον καταστήσει· (?) διελθόν]των δὲ τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν παρασχόμεν[ος τὸ ἀργύριον κατὰ
τὸν ἐκκείμενο[ν χρηματισμὸν εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν καρ]πόφορον τελέσει τὸμ φόρον ὧν ἀδιε(γ)γυ[ητός· ἐὰν δὲ τελέσῃ
ἐντὸς τῶν δέ[κα ἐτῶν τοῖς Ὀλυμέων ταμίαις τ]ὸν ὀφειλόμενον ὑφ' αὐτοῦ ἀριθμὸν τῶν φ[όρων ἀποδοὺς τὸν φόρον
καὶ ὄντα καρπόφο[ρον, ἀπολύσει κατὰ τὸν νόμο]ν τοὺς ἐγγύους· ἐὰν δὲ μετὰ τὸ ἀπολυθῆν[αι αὐτοὺς τρὶς ἐφεξῆς
μὴ ἀποδῶι τὸμ φόρ[ον τοῖς ταμίαις καρποὺς ἐτ]ῶν τριῶν μὴ διευτακτήσας, ἀποτείσει αὐ[τοῖς τὸν φόρον ἡμι-
όλιον· ἐὰν δὲ πλείω τ[ῶν τριῶν ἐτῶν μὴ ἀποδῶι, τόν τε] φόρον ὀφειλήσει ἡμιόλιον καὶ οὐκ ὑπάρξει α[ὐτῶι ἡ μίσθωσις, ἔσται
δέ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἡ πρᾶξις δ[μοίως· ἐξέστω δὲ αὐτῶι παρα]χώρησιμ ποιησάσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐφ' οἷς [τὴν γῆν ἐμισθώσατο
κατὰ τὴν συγγραφήν. [. . . . . Πολυ]φήμου. μάρτυρες δικασταὶ Ἑρμίας Ἀριστέ[ου . . . . . .
τοῦ Διονυσίου, Λέων Μο[λόσσου . . . . . νομο]φύλαξ Σωσήπολις Βουλαγόρου. (*β*) [Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου
Δημητρίου τοῦ Πιξω[δάρου, μηνὸς . . . . παρεχώρησεν] Κόρρις Μενεκλείους ὁ μεμισθωμέν[ος τῆι Κανδηβέων συγ-
(γ)ενίαι μετά τε Ἑρμίο[υ τοῦ Μαρσύου τοῦ μεμισθωμέν]ου εἰς πατρικὰ τῆι Μωσσείων συγγε[νείαι καὶ Μενίσκου . . . .
κλείους τοῦ μεμισθω[μένου τῆι Κυβιμέων συγγενεία] γῆν ἱερὰν τοῦ Διὸς Λαβραύνδο[υ, ἣν καὶ εἰς μίσθωσιν αὐτοῖς
ἀ]πέδωκ(α)ν ταμί[αι οἱ ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Μενίππου το]ῦ Γλαύκου, Ἀσκληπιάδη Ἀρισ[τέου . . . . . .
. . ΟΙΑ . ΥΤΟ . . . . . τέταρτομ (?)]μέρος δραχμὰς ἑπτακοσία[ς . . . .
. . . . .]κου, Μένιππος Ἰατ[ρο]κλείο[υς . . .
ΤΟΣΤΟΥΜΙ
ΟΥΟΓ

The best evidence of the former connexion between these fragments as well as of the width of the gap separating them, consists in comparing with ll. 4–6 the following passage (*B.C.H.* xix. 1895, p. 559 = *Ath. Mitt.* xxi. 1896, pp. 119–20): *ἀ]ποτείσει [τὸν] φόρον ἡμιόλιον· [ἐὰν] δὲ [ἡ μεμισθωμένη τὸν φόρον τρὶς ἐφεξ]ῆς μὴ ἀ[ποδ]ῶι, ἀ[ποτείσ]ει τόν τε φόρον τῶν τριῶν ἐτῶν ἡμι[όλιον καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρξει αὐτῆι ἡ·μίσθωσις]*. This passage is restored from L.B.W. 416, ll. 15–16 = *I.J.G.* i. pp. 244–6, which may also be compared. The fact that in the other lines of our text all missing spaces can so easily and logically be filled seems to place the relationship of *a* and *c* beyond doubt. For the restoration of ll. 6–7 cf. *Wien. S. Ber.* 1895, ii. p. 16, n. 9 (= *B.C.H.* xxii. p. 384, n. 29): *ἔστ]αι ἡ πρᾶξις ὁμοίως κατ' αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.*

At the beginning of l. 11 we must read Γ instead of Τ, and in l. 13 *ἀπέδωκ(α)ν* instead of *ἀπέδωκεν*.

V. (*a*).

That this is the end of a *μίσθωσις* appears from the mention in ll. 8–9 of the *dikastai* and the *nomophylax* in whose presence the lease was made. In *B.C.H.* v. pp. 110–11 (= *I.J.G.* i. pp. 246–8) it is ordered that the lease

be drawn up *ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστῶν καὶ τοῦ νομοφύλακος κατὰ συγγραφήν*. The only inscriptions besides this in which both those officials are mentioned are the small fragments *Wien. S. Ber.* 1895, ii. p. 6, n. 3 and *B.C.H.* v. 1881, p. 107, n. 10.

The words *ἀδιεγγυητός, διευτακτήσας* seem to be new,[1] and so also is the term *φόρος καρπόφορος* for 'rent payable in produce,' doubtless the proper antithesis to *φόρος ἀργυρικός*, 'rent in money' (L.B.W. 323–4). *διελθόν]των* in l. 1 is a certain restoration from IV. *a*, l. 5. The requirement that the rent in money shall be paid within ten years, as provided in ll. 1–2 and in IV. *a*, ll. 4–6, is found also in L.B.W. 404, l. 13.

The meaning of *διευτακτεῖν*, 'to continue to pay regularly,' is shown by *Syll.*[2] 306, l. 15: *ὅπως . . . οἱ μισθοὶ τοῖς παιδευταῖς εὐτακτέωνται.*

If the missing portions of ll. 2–4 are correctly restored, it was possible for the discharge of the sureties (*ἔγγυοι*) guaranteeing the money-rent due in the ten-year term (as in L.B.W. 404, ll. 12–13) to be effected by payment within that period of the equivalent of that rent in produce: *φόρον*] *καὶ ὄντα καρπόφο*[*ρον*. This was but an anticipation of what happened at the end of the tenth year (l. 2) when the whole rent became payable in produce; cf. *Ath. Mitt.* xv. 1890, p. 273, n. 21 (cited above, p. 199) where after the tenth year only a certain proportion of the annual rent was thus payable.

V. (*β*).

This can scarcely be anything else than a grant or assignment (*παραχώρησις*) by Korris and others to Asklepiades (and others?) of a plot of land belonging to Zeus Labraundos; cf. L.B.W. 338 as amended by Judeich (*Ath. Mitt.* xiv. p. 390), where *παρεχώρησεν*—which is here restored—seems to be the true reading. No other verb denoting the disposition of the property and followed as here by a personal name in the *dative* (*Ἀσκληπιάδῃ*, l. 13) seems to occur in these documents except *ἐμίσθωσαν*; cf. VIII. below, and *Ath. Mitt.* xv. p. 273, n. 21, cited above, p. 199. And in this case a *μίσθωσις* is obviously out of the question.

In l. 14 the traces of M before *μέρος* suggest that *τέταρτομ* is the

[1] But *ἀδιέγγυος* and *ἐγγυητός* and *εὐτακτέω* are known. I regret that pressure of work has prevented my using valuable notes kindly given to me by Prof. M. Rostovtseff on the use of these terms in papyri documents.

missing word and that 700 drachmae[1] was the price of each fourth share into which under VI. *β* this land was divided.

The mention both here and in the companion document VI. ll. 2, 8 of Hermias and Korris as lessees for their respective 'syngenies' suggests the borrowing from the same source of the name Meniskos, which is here tentatively restored. It would seem that by our document three of the lessees mentioned in VI. transferred their interest to Asklepiades and others. The name missing in l. 13 of the magistrate Μένιππος Γλαύκου can be restored from VI. *β*, ll. 4, 12. He appears also in L.B.W. 426.

VI.

Fragment *b*, published with the two fragments of V., *B.C.H.* xxii. 1898, p. 397, n. 45, epigraphic copy only. The block on which it is engraved seems originally to have been built in near that on which the fragments of V. were recorded. Or perhaps a single long block (*e.g.* 1·05 metres in length, like that which bears L.B.W. 329–332) may have borne both V. and VI.

The width of the inscribed portion missing on the left of our text is shown by the name Μενίππου in l. 4. This restoration is certain, since the same Μένιππος is obviously mentioned in l. 12, where reference is made to the year following that in which the document is dated. So also in L.B.W. 404, dated under Ἱεροκλῆς ὁ Μενίππου, the year immediately following is referred to as ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ μετὰ Ἱεροκλῆν Μενίππου (l. 6), and in L B.W. 323–4, l. 14 (see VII. below) the ταμίαι of the next year are similarly specified.[2] The width of text missing on the right side is indicated by the restoration of ll. 7–8, in which the lessees belonging to the four συγγένειαι must have figured. We cannot be sure of the two missing names, but that of Megakles borrowed from l. 3 cannot greatly vary in length from the original. It will be seen that in many places the reading proposed is merely explanatory, but in *a* (ll. 1–3) the restorations

[1] This figure agrees well with the rental of 32½ drachmae restored below in VI *β*, l. 11, for Waddington has shown that the usual income from these lands was about 4% on their purchase price.

[2] A magistrate described as ὁ μετὰ τὸν δεῖνα is usually of 'next' year, because in reference to the magistrate of any year *before* the 'next' ὁ μετά would not occur, as his name would be known, and with respect to any year *after* the 'next,' the name of ὁ δεῖνα could not be mentioned, being unknown.

VI. (*a*)

. . . μετὰ κυρίου Ἀ]ρισ(ίππ)ου τοῦ Φανίου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς, καὶ [ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερᾶς γῆς Διὸς Λαβραύνδου ταμιῶν τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμωι συγγενείων, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Μ]ωσσέων συγγενήιας Ἑρμίου [τοῦ Μαρσύου, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κυβιμέων Μέλανος τοῦ Νυσίου (?), ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σολωνέων Μεγακλείους (?) τοῦ Ἀριστέ]ου, Καλλισθένου τοῦ Διογένου τοῦ Διογένου.

(*β*)

Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Μενίππου] τοῦ Γλαύκου, μηνὸς Ξανδίκου ὀγδόηι ἀ[πιόντος, διηγγύησαν οἱ ταμίαι Ὀλυμέων . . . . .

5 . . . . . .]δου τοῦ Μέλανος, Ἐπαινετὸς Οὐλιά[δου, Ἑρμίαν Μαρσύου, Μένισκον . . . . . κλείους, Μεγακλῆν Ἀριστέου, Κόρριν Μενεκλείους,] μεμισθωμένους κατά τε τοὺς νό[μους καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ Ὀλυμέων δήμου τὸ ὑπογεγραμμένον Ἑρμίαν μὲν τῆι Μωσσέων συγγ]ενείαι τῆι ἐν Ὀλύμωι, Μένισκον δὲ τῆι [Κυβιμέων συγγενείαι τῆι ἐν Ὀλύμωι, Μεγακλῆν δὲ τῆι Σολωνέων συγγενείαι τῆι ἐν Ὀλύ]μωι, Κόρριν δὲ τῆι Κανδηβέων συγγε[νείαι τῆι ἐν Ὀλύμωι, γῆν ἐν τῆι Ὀλυμίδι ἱερὰν τοῦ Διὸς Λαβραύνδου τὴν ὀνομαζομένην . . . . . ε]ρρα τὴν οὖσαν ἀμίσθωτοι πᾶσ[αν, ἣν πρότερον εἶχεν ἐν μισθώσει καὶ . . . . .

10 . . . . . το]ῖς ἐγλογισταῖς Ἀντίοχος Σω[. . . . . σὺν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι δένδρεσι πᾶσιν, ἑκάστου ἔτους ἀργυρίου Ῥοδίου λεπτοῦ δραχμῶν τριάκον]τα δύο τετάρτης καὶ ἐπιδεκάτ[ου τόκου, ἃ καὶ διορθώσεται ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ταμίαις τοῦ Ὀλυμέων δήμου τοῖς ἐπὶ στ]εφανηφόρου τοῦ μετὰ Μένιππ[ον Γλαύκου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος εἰς ἔτη δέκα ἀπὸ τῆς γεγενημένης μισθώσεως·] διορθώσονται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν μ[ετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον φόρον ἄνεικον ἀνυπόλογον ἑκάστου ἔτους δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα παρὰ τὴν] δραχμὴν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διορθώσ[ωνται τὸν φόρον πράξουσιν οἱ ταμίαι κατά τε Ἀντι-

15 όχου καὶ τῶν παραλαβόντων τὴν μίσθωσ]ιν. ἔγγυοι εἰς ἕκτεισιν κατ[ὰ τὸν νόμον τῆι μὲν Μωσσέων συγγενείαι Ἑρμίας Μαρσύου Μασσωνεὺς (?), τῆι δὲ Κανδηβέων συγγενεί]αι Κόρρις Μενεκλείους Κο[ρμοσκωνεὺς, ταῖς δὲ Κυβιμέων καὶ Σολωνέων συγγενείαις Μένισκος . . . . κλείους Πωρεμβωρδεύς (?). μάρτυρε]ς δικασταὶ [. . . . . .

may safely be taken from VII. (ll. 1–4), which clearly is a document of the same kind.

Similarly in *β*, l. 4, we can restore from VII., ll. 6–7 : *διηγγύησαν οἱ ταμίαι* . . . because from the position of *μεμισθωμένους* in l. 6 and in VII., l. 9 we can infer with certainty that this instrument is, like I. *β* and VII. *β*, a *διεγγύησις*. In ll. 4–5 there is just sufficient space for the three missing names of *ταμίαι*.

The question now arises why *ταμίαι* here as in VII. *β*, not *μισθωταί* as in I. *β*, should have received suretyship guaranteeing the payment of the rent. The explanation is, I believe, to be found in the mention (VI., l. 1 ; VII., l. 2) of Hermias and the other tenants of the *ἱερὰ γῆ* as *ταμίαι*, not of the *demos* of Olymos, but of its constituent *συγγένειαι*.

We learn from VII., l. 9 and I., l. 11 that each lease was authorized by a special *ψήφισμα*—a hint followed in the restoration of our l. 6. It seems probable that such a *ψήφισμα*, in each case, authorized and directed the *ταμίαι* of Olymos to take sureties for the lessees who, as *ταμίαι* of Mossa, Kybima, &c., were hiring the temple lands for the benefit of their fellow villagers. This explanation serves also to account for the phrase in V., l. 11 : *μεμισθωμέν]ου εἰς πατρικὰ τῆι Μωσσείων συγγε[νείαι*, and for the similar phrase above (ll. 6–8) : *μεμισθωμένους . . . τῆι Καυδηβέων συγγε[νείαι*. The former may be translated : 'holding an hereditable leasehold *for* the community of the Mosseis.'[1] In VII., l. 10, Dionysios and Hermias are lessees of temple land which had previously been held by Melas *for the Kybimeis* (VII., l. 3), so it is probable that these two new lessees were, like Melas, tenants for that village community, and that under the special *ψήφισμα* (VII., l. 9) the *ταμίαι* of Olymos were directed to take sureties for their payments of the rent due to the temple. When, however, as in I. *β*, the *μισθωταί* made a lease to an individual tenant they—and not the *ταμίαι*—took sureties to guarantee his solvency.

The amounts of annual rent restored in ll. 11 and 14 are mere guesses, but it seems certain that here, as in III., each tenant paid his proportion of the whole rent (= 130 dr. ?) less one drachme ($32\frac{1}{4} \times 4 = 129$) and that the amount of the total rent was mentioned in l. 14.

The *Ἀντίοχος* of l. 10 is the late tenant, whose default had left the

[1] For this meaning of the dative cf. L.B.W. 331 (= *Ath. Mitt.* xiv. 1889, p. 381) l. 7, where *πρίασθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ ἔγγαια* means 'to buy the lands *for* the gods.'

land untenanted (l. 9), but as he still paid *τὴν δραχμήν* (l. 14) his name may be restored in l. 14–15; cf. IV. *α*, l. 14; IV. *β*, ll. 8–9.

The restoration of ll. 15–17 is due to the suggestion of M. Haussoullier that these lessees, who acted only as agents or nominal tenants, could probably serve as the sureties for one or more *συγγένειαι*.

In l. 13 it is likely that the amount of rent specified in l. 11 was limited to a term of ten years. An annual rental, payable thereafter and equivalent to the total rent due by the four *συγγένειαι* but not including the *τόκος*, was evidently stipulated in l. 14. The aim of the *ταμίαι* of Olymos was to guarantee the rent, and these *ἔγγυοι* of l. 15 were sureties for its punctual payment within the given period.

The mention in l. 5 of *Ἐπαινετὸς Οὐλιάδου* is interesting as an indication that L.B.W. 323–4, which Judeich thought later than the other documents of the series (*Ath. Mitt.* xiv. p. 393), in fact belongs to the same period as the rest. This man, who appears as *κτηματώνης* in L.B.W. 414, is clearly a contemporary of *Καλλισθένης τοῦ Διογένου τοῦ Διογένου* (l. 3), and the latter is already known from L.B.W. 323–4, l. 4 (see VII.).

The date of VI. *β* must be earlier than that of V. *β*, since the lessees of VI. *β* reappear in V. *β* as assignors of their leasehold interest.

VII.

This important inscription is engraved on two blocks of marble found at Olymos and now in the Louvre, where Judeich has revised it (*Ath. Mitt.* xiv. p. 387). As Waddington's text (L.B.W. 323–4) and that of Euler (*De locatione conductione*, 1882, p. 45[1]) are not satisfactory, it is here reprinted with a few emendations from Le Bas' copies corrected by Waddington and Judeich.

In ll. 7–8 Waddington reads: *Ἀρτέμων Ἑρμογένου, [Φανίας] Ἀριστέου, Ἀριστέας Φανίου, ταμίας Ὀλυμέων, Ἑκαταῖος Μενίπ[που, Ἀ]ρτέμων καὶ Κρατῖνος κατὰ τὰ ἐξ μέ[ρη . . . κτλ.*

But it is obvious that in l. 7 we should read [*Κρατῖνος*] *Ἀριστέου*, to correspond with the subsequent enumeration: *Ἑκαταῖος μὲν [καὶ Ἀ]ρτέμων καὶ Κρατῖνος*, and that at the end of the line we should *not* restore *Ἑκαταῖος Μενίπ[που* because this man's name is twice given as *Ἑκαταῖος Αἰνέου* (ll. 7, 14).

[1] Known to me only from the reference in *Ath. Mitt.* xiv. p. 387.

II. (= L.B.W. 323–324).

(*a*)

. . . . . Ἀσκλη]πιάδου μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀρισστίππου Φανίου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερᾶ[ς γῆς τοῦ Διὸ]ς Λαβραύνδου ταμιῶν τῶν ἐν [Ὀλύμωι] συγγενειῶν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Μωσσέων Ἑρμίου τοῦ Μαρσύου, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κυβιμέων] Μέλανος τοῦ Νυσίου, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κ[ανδη]βέων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Μενίππου, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σολωνέων Μεγακλείους τ[οῦ Ἀρισ]τέου, Καλλισθένου τοῦ Διογένου [τοῦ Δι]ογένου, καὶ αὐ(λ)ῆς τῆς ἐν Κυβίμοις καὶ τῶν προσόντων οἰκοπέδων εἰς τὰ ἡμ[ίσ]η, π]αρόντων μαρτύρων τῶν γειτόνων Φα[νίου τοῦ] Ἀριστέου Περβίλα, Μενίππο(υ) τοῦ Μενίππου, Πολίτου τοῦ Νυσίου. (*β*) Ἐ(π)[ὶ στε]φανηφόρου Οὐλιάδου τοῦ Πόλλ[ιος τοῦ] Πλωτέου, μηνὸς Περιτίου δεκάτηι ἀπιόντος, διηγγύησαν Ἑκατα]ῖος Αἰνέου, Ἀρτέμων Ἑρμογένου, [Κρατῖνος] Ἀριστέου, Ἀριστέας Φανίου, ταμία(ι) Ὀλυμέων, Ἑκαταῖος μέν [καὶ Ἀ]ρτέμων καὶ Κρατῖνος κατὰ τὸ ἓξ μέ[ρη Ἀρισ]τέας δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἕβδομον, Διονύσιον Πόλλιος καὶ Ἑρμίαν Ἐστι[αίου μεμισθωμένους εἰς πατρικά, καθότι ἔφ[ασαν Ὀλυ]μεῖς ἐψηφίσθαι, γῆν ἐν τῆι Ὀλυμίδι ἐγ Κυβίμοις ἱερὰν Ἀρτέμιδο[ς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ὀλυμέων, ἣν πρότερον εἶχ[εν ἐν μισ]θώσει Μέλας Νυσίου, σὺν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι δένδρεσι συκίνοις, ἑκ[άστου ἔτ]ους δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ λιβανωτοῦ [. . . . . .], ἐφ' ὃι ἔξει τὴν προγεγραμμένην γῆν Διονύσιος καὶ Ἑρμίας [αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἢ οἷς ἂν ἡ κληρονομία τῶν [ὑπαρχόν]των αὐτῶν καθήκηι, καὶ τελέσουσιν Ὀλυμεῦσιν κατ' ἐνιαυτ[ὸν τὸν προγε]γραμμένον φόρον ἄνεικον ἀνυπό[λογον, διορ]θούμενοι τὸμ μὲν καθήκοντα φόρον ἀργυρικὸν εἰς τὸ πρῶτο[ν ἐν μηνὶ . . . . . ταμίαις τοῦ Ὀλυμέων δήμου τοῖς] μετὰ τοὺς περὶ Ἑκαταῖον Αἰνέου ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ με[τὰ Οὐλιάδην Πόλλιος τοῦ Πλωτέου, καὶ εἰς τὸν μετὰ] ταῦτα χρόνον ποιήσονται τὴν καταβολὴν τοῖς ἀεὶ καθισ[ταμένοις [ταμίαις . . . . .]

The text of 324, as rendered in type by Le Bas, shows ΜΕΝΙ˙, not ΜΕΝΙΠ, so that Waddington's restoration has no justification; nor is his reading Περι]τ[ίω borne out in l. 14 by the epigraphic copy. In l. 5, his punctuation: Φα[νίου τοῦ] Ἀριστέου, Περβίλα κτλ. conceals the fact that Περβίλας was the Carian 'second' name of Phanias. Such a native name is usually placed after the Greek name and the patronymic of its bearer; cf. *B.C.H.* xii. p. 26, n. 9, l. 6 (from Mylasa): [Με]νοίτου τοῦ Λέοντος Οὐώκεω.

In ll. 9, 13 Waddington's μισθωμένους, οἱ μισ]θούμενοι, should be με]μισθωμένους, διορ]θούμενοι. The tenant is in these documents never called ὁ μισθούμενος, but only ὁ μεμισθωμένος or ὁ μισθωσάμενος. In ll. 4–5 the reading εἰς τὰ ἡμ[ίση is certain; cf. *C.I.G.* 2694 (*b*), ll. 6–7; *B.C.H.* xix. 1895, p. 559, l. 11. In ll. 10, 15 where ἐν μισ]θώσει, εἰς τὸν μετὰ] ταῦτα are restored, the prepositions ought not to be omitted as they are in Waddington's text.

VIII.

This document, published without epigraphic copy by Hula and Szanto (*Wien. S. Ber.* 132, 1895, ii. p. 16, n. 10) is instructive if properly restored, because it is the best specimen from Mylasa-Olymos of the beginning of a lease (μίσθωσις), and still more because we possess the copy practically complete of the ψήφισμα under which this very lease was made.

VIII. (= *Wien. S.B.* 132, 1895, ii. p. 16, n. 10).

. . ρι μει . . .
]λοις ου, καὶ πέραν τῆς ὁδο[ῦ τ(ῆ)ς ἐ(π)ὶ [. . . . . φερούσης . . . . . καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς φυλετικὰς γέας] Δ[ι]ὸς Ὀτωρκονδέων αὐτοῦ Θρασέου τοῦ [Πολίτου τοῦ Μέλανος Γράβου κατὰ δὲ υἱοθεσίαν Ἡρακλεί]του Ἡρακλείδου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ(ς) φυλετι[κὰς γέας . . . . . .
Μίσθω[σις.
Ἐπὶ] στεφαν[ηφό]ρου Φαίδρου τοῦ Ἀριστέου ἱε[ρέως Ἀφροδίτης Εὐπλοίας, μηνὸς . . . . . ἐπὶ δέ[κα], ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἐμίσθωσαν οἱ ταμίαι τῆς [Ὀτωρκονδέων φυλῆς . . . . . Ταρκονδαρεὺς, Λεωνίδη[ς Δι]ονυσίου Μαυννίτ[ης, Θρασέαι Πολίτου τοῦ Μέλανος Γράβου κατὰ δὲ υἱοθεσίαν Ἡρ[ακ]λείτου Ἡρακλείδου Ὀγονδεῖ<ς> [γέ]ας ἐν [τῶι Ὀμβιανῶι πεδίωι ἐν Λευκῆ κώμη τὰς ὀνομαζομένα[ς ἐν Ὀ]ρθονδονώκοις σὺν τοῖς ἐνοῦσιν [ἀ]μ[πέλων ὄρχοις ἑξήκοντα δυσὶν καὶ δένδρεσιν ἐλαίνοις τρισὶ]ν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δένδρεσι πᾶσι[ν, καὶ ἄλλας γέας τήν τε καλουμένην Ἁρμοκόδωκα καὶ τὴν ἐχομένην ταύτης ἕως τῆ[ς Τροβαλισσικῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ὡς τὰ ὅρια πέπηγεν, σὺν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι δένδρεσιν ἐλα]ίνοις πᾶσι(ν), ἃ καὶ ἄπ[αντα παρὰ Θρασέου ἐπρίαν]το, καὶ τῶι [Θρασέαι δραχμὰς πεντακισχιλίας μηνὶ τῶι ἐνεστῶτι τιμὴν [ἀπέδωκαν, ἐφ' ᾧι ἕξει αὐτὰ εἰς πατρικὰ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἢ οἷς ἂν ἡ κληρονομία τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καθ[ήκῃ], καὶ [τε]λέσ[ει ἑκάστου ἔτους ἐν τῶι . . . . . μηνὶ φόρον τοῖς τῆς φυλῆς ἀεὶ καθισταμένοις ταμίαις ἄνεικον ἀνυπόλογον [ἀργυρίου Ῥοδίου λεπτοῦ δραχμὰς ἑκατόν· ἄρξει δὲ αὐτῶι [τῆς μισθώσεως ὁ ἐνεστὼς μείς, καὶ ποιήσεται] τὴν [καταβολὴν τῶν ὑπολιπομένων μηνῶν μέχρι τοῦ . . . . . [μηνὸς κτλ.

The original editors accurately restored ll. 9, 10, 12 which show that the inscription had a width of about eighty letters, but they were misled in reading Ὀγονδέ(ω)ς instead of Ὀγονδει<ς> in l. 9 and so restored l. 8 as follows:

. . . . Μαυννίτ[ης τὰς πωλουμένας ὑπὸ Θρασέου τοῦ Πολίτου καθ' υἱοθεσίαν δὲ

This reading leaves the document suspended, so to speak, without a lessee, and is clearly erroneous because, in order to reduce the line to a proper length, it cuts out a part of Thraseas' name (*τοῦ Μέλανος Γράβου*]) never omitted in the other passages where he is mentioned. In *B.C.H.* xii. 1888, p. 26, n. 9, ll. 14–18, from which the above restoration of l. 3 is taken, his full name is twice repeated along with that of his brother *Δράκων*.

Another obvious mistake of the editors is their version of l. 14: . . . *τιμὴν*] *ἀργυρίου Ῥοδίου λεπτοῦ δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν* . . . thus confusing price with annual rental. The reference in ll. 13–14 is to the following passage in the *ψήφισμα* by which this lease was authorized: *τιμῆς τὰ πάντα ἀργυρίου Ῥοδίου λεπτοῦ δραχμῶν πεντακισχιλίων* (*B.C.H.* xii. p. 30, l. 12) whence the restoration easily follows. In l. 14 the engraver wrote . . . *πᾶσι τὰ καὶ* . . . instead of *πᾶσι(ν) ἃ καὶ* . . . probably because he confused this with the other form of phrasing found in *Ath. Mitt.* xv. 1890,

p. 273, n. 21 : . . . δένδρεσι πᾶσι, τὰ καὶ ληφθ(έν)τα . . . παρὰ Ἰάσονος. The rest of our document could be restored by following the two parts of the ψήφισμα on which it is based : *I.J.G.* i. pp. 242–4 ; pp. 246–8 ; and it may be noted that the width of text is in both these fragments the same as in our document.

IX.

L.B.W. 393, which Dareste, Haussoullier and Reinach (*I.J.G.* i. p. 258, note 2) regard as a separate inscription, must be merely an imperfect copy of *I.J.G.* i. p. 242–4, made when the left side of the stone was still covered up by the masonry into which it was built when Le Bas saw it. This is evident from the identity in the earlier and later copies (L.B.W. 393 ; *B.C.H.* v. p. 108) of the breaks on the right of each line and of the position of the letters immediately preceding each of those breaks.

A puzzling duplication of documents thus disappears.

SUMMARY.

The fresh information derivable from these inscriptions respecting legal rules and customs may be summarized as follows :—

Leases to συγγένειαι.

The temple lands belonging to the *demos* of Olymos might be let to an individual acting as agent for one of the four συγγένειαι which composed the *demos*. This individual was probably always the treasurer (ταμίας) of his συγγένεια and might, as shown below, act as its surety (ἔγγυος) for the guaranteeing of the rent due to the treasurers of the *demos*. A plot of land might, as in V. β, be let jointly to the representatives of several συγγένειαι, each of whom paid a portion of the rent corresponding to his share of the land. See also VI. β.

Assignment of Leases.

The lessee was often, as in II. β, ll. 10–11, IV. α, l. 4, V. α, l. 7, authorized to assign his lease. If he did so, he continued to pay the nominal rent of one drachme (τὴν δραχμήν : IV. α, l. 11, IV. β, l. 7, VI. β,

l. 14), thus keeping alive his liability as lessee. And if, in consequence of the assignee's failure to pay his rent, the land had to be relet—such ἀναμίσθωσις is mentioned in IV. *a*, l. 12, and actually occurs in III.—the new tenant paid the same rent as the assignee, namely the amount of the original rent less the one drachme still paid by the original lessee (III. ll. 9–11, VI. *β*, l. 11).

Payment of Rent in Produce.

If during a given period, say ten years, the lessee paid his money rent in full, he was sometimes allowed thereafter to pay it in produce (V. *a*, l. 2). That mode of payment was evidently regarded as a privilege.

Suretyship guaranteeing the Rent.

The rich documentary material from Mylasa-Olymos long since made known the forms of ὠνή, of ἔμβασις, of μίσθωσις, and of the various types of ψήφισμα relating to those transactions.

But of διεγγύησις we had hitherto but one specimen, VII. *β*. To this are above added six fragments, I. *a*, I. *β*, L.B.W. 325, II. *a*, II. *γ*, VI. *β*, which show how sureties were taken for the payment of the rent due by the lessee.

The view which best suits the above documents, especially I. *β*, VI. *β* and VII. *β*, is that, as διεγγύησις signifies the acceptance of suretyship, so διηγγύησαν here denotes, not 'acted as sureties for' (the ordinary sense as given in the dictionaries), but 'accepted suretyship for,' that is, received guarantees from certain persons (enumerated below as in VI. *β*) that the undertakings of the lessee would be performed. This translation of διεγγυάω[1] I owe to M. Haussoullier, for whose kindness in reading proofs and in helpful criticism I am most grateful.

When, as in VII. *β*, we find that three of the ταμίαι received guarantees respecting six-sevenths of the rent in question, whereas the remaining ταμίας was interested only in the remaining one-seventh, we must assume that for some reason as yet unknown, but probably connected with the ownership or origin of the sums invested in the land, the share in it protected by each of the four ταμίαι might vary. It seems not improbable that each of them represented on the Board of Treasurers of Olymos one

[1] See J. Partsch, *Gr. Bürgschaftsrecht*, 1909, p. 112.

of the four constituent *συγγένειαι*. And if in VII. *β* the money invested in the property was as to two-sevenths supplied by each of three *συγγένειαι*, and as to one-seventh by the fourth, it is intelligible that three of the *ταμίαι* should have required guarantees for six-sevenths, and the fourth *ταμίας* for only one-seventh of the rent payable for the land.

The document in which the *διεγγύησις* was embodied is not an undertaking or stipulation by the surety. It is a mere statement that suretyship has been accepted and a rehearsal of the terms of the lease, followed by an appendix naming the sureties.

We learn (1) that there might be a single surety, as in II. *γ*, or several sureties, as in the other instances; (2) that the officials taking the suretyship were either the 13 *μισθωταί*, where the lessee was taking the land on his own behalf (I. *β*), or the 4 *ταμίαι*, where the lessees represented *συγγένειαι* (VI. *β*, VII. *β*); (3) that, in the latter case, the lessee representing the *συγγένεια* might probably act as its *ἔγγυος* (V. *β*, ll. 15–17); (4) that where the rent was payable in cash, payment by the lessee of its equivalent in produce might discharge the liability of the surety (V. *α*, l. 4).

W. H. BUCKLER.

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the School was held in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, on Tuesday, November 27th, 1917. MR. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, Chairman of the Managing Committee, presided and presented the following Report for the Session 1916–1917 :—

The Managing Committee beg leave to present the following Report for the Session 1916–17.

Though the normal activities of the School are at present in abeyance, its founders and supporters have good reason for satisfaction in the knowledge that its work in the past has placed at the disposal of the nation a body of highly-trained specialists versed in the tongues, the topography and the racial peculiarities of the Near East, and able therefore to render services of very special value at the present time. It may be added that their work also illustrates the *practical* value of a knowledge of ancient Greek. The large majority of the Students have not only received a severely 'classical' education, but they go to Athens for that reason, and it is precisely their intimate acquaintance with ancient Greek which enables them to assimilate the local modern tongues and conditions. Even the severest economist must admit that the nation is receiving good value for the Government grant to the School. At present, however, archaeological study is in abeyance, and all the Committee can do is to keep the various departments in such order that no time may be lost in re-starting work when the proper time comes. They would, however, venture to remind the friends of the School that ordinary expenses continue, and that, considering the admitted national value of its work, subscriptions to it cannot be regarded as 'unpatriotic expenditure.'

Roll of Honour.—The Committee announce with deep thankfulness that, since the publication of the last report, the war has taken no further toll from the School, though it has lost by death one of its early Students, Mr. R. A. H. Bickford-Smith, admitted 1889–90. Its Roll of Honour was published at the beginning of Vol. XXI. of the *Annual*, and after the war the Committee propose to issue a complete list, showing the services, naval, military or otherwise, rendered during the war by Students of the School. Lieut. M. N. Tod (Assistant Director 1902–1904) has recently been awarded the Croix de Guerre 'avec palmes.'

All old Students will be sorry to learn that Mr. F. W. Hasluck's health broke

down last autumn, and that he was obliged to leave Athens for a more bracing climate. The latest reports received show that he is progressing as well as can be expected.

The Committee record with deep regret the death of Professor Jesse Benedict Carter, Director of the American Academy in Rome. Dr. Carter died at Cervignano, in the Italian war zone, while on an American mission of aid. In addition to a wide acquaintance with his subject, he possessed a natural gift of eloquence, and his brilliant lectures on the Roman Forum and other monuments attracted large audiences, not only of Students, but of the winter visitors to Rome. Much sympathy will be felt with the American Academy in the premature death of its distinguished Director.

The Director.—Mr. Wace's term of office has just expired, and the Committee have re-appointed him for a further term of three years. The critical political situation which has prevailed in Greece, not only throughout the whole of the past Session, but ever since Mr. Wace's appointment, has naturally prevented him from undertaking anything in the way of excavation, or of serious and continuous archaeological study; the Committee trust, however, that during his second period of office, conditions may so improve that he will be able to revert to the studies and excavations in which he achieved such success while a student of the School.

During the whole of the past Session Mr. Wace's services have again been lent, with the cordial approval of the Committee, to His Majesty's Legation, where he is principally employed as Director of Relief for British refugees from Turkey. The Committee remains responsible for Mr. Wace's salary. After the events of Dec. 1st and 2nd, 1916, and the subsequent departure of the British colony from Athens, the Director closed the School the care of which was most kindly undertaken by Mr. Hill, the Director, and Mr. Blegen, the Secretary, of the American School. He was absent from Athens from Dec. 14th, 1916, to March 19th, 1917, during which time he was with H.B.M. Legation on board ship in Salamis Strait. He took the opportunity to explore, as far as was possible, the eastern end of Salamis Island, and reported to the Greek archaeological authorities on some interesting wall-paintings in a church at Koulouri, which seemed likely to be endangered by injudicious restoration. Since March 19th he has been continuously in residence, his whole time being taken up by his duties at the Legation, by the ordinary affairs of the Hostel and School (which owing to the blockade, etc., have of necessity become more complicated), and by the superintendence of improvements in the immediate surroundings of the Hostel.

From time to time, when opportunity offered, he has continued his study of the pottery from Mycenae. He has also, with the help of Lieut.-Commr. J. L. Myres, rearranged the collection of Antiquities in the Hostel. The Finlay Collection of pre-historic antiquities is now available for study, and this, with the small collection belonging to the School (formed originally by Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith) makes a very useful little teaching collection.

The Secretary.—Mr. Penoyre is still engaged on his beneficent task of collecting field-glasses, sweaters, and other comforts for those serving at the front, and the columns of the *Times* bear witness now and again to his ceaseless activity. His duties have again been taken on by Miss Hutton, in addition to her work as Editor of the School *Annual*. The Committee feel that the thanks of all friends of the School are due to their colleague for services so invaluable, and so ungrudgingly rendered.

The Library.—In view of the abnormal conditions the Library has been closed to the public, but genuine students have always been admitted. The number of readers, though smaller than usual, has included members of the American School, some Greek scholars, and a few British residents. Additions to the Library have been very few and consist mainly of current periodicals, a few books presented by Mr. Hasluck and other friends, and some pamphlets, etc., relating to recent political events in Greece, which have been collected to add to the Finlay books on modern Greek History. The Finlay Library is kept closed, as no progress can be made at present with the completion of the card Catalogue.

It has been suggested that a small collection of standard English authors, especially poets, might with advantage be formed either in the Director's House, or in the Hostel. The School and Finlay Libraries provide sufficient books on Archaeology, History, etc., and the collections of novels in both houses furnish lighter reading, but the standard British authors are quite unrepresented. Cheap but good editions of Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Milton, Keats, Shelley, Swinburne, Tennyson, Byron's *Poems* and *Letters*, Scott, Thackeray, Meredith, Kipling, Thomas Hardy, etc., would be a very welcome addition to the resources of the School.

School Premises.—The most important improvement made during the past year has been the installation, during August, of electric light in the Director's house. This was lighted entirely by gas, and as, owing to coal scarcity, there has been no gas in Athens for eight months, the only means of lighting were petroleum-substitutes and candles, both very inefficient and expensive. Electric light has now been installed, at an inclusive cost of about £100, and the Director reports that it adds greatly to the convenience and attractiveness of the house. Various necessary renewals and repairs have been carried out both in the Director's House and the Hostel. Others are under consideration, as little in the way of painting, etc., has been done for over twelve years, and there is risk of permanent deterioration in the premises if this work is postponed.

As in the previous year, the Director has offered accommodation in the Hostel to British subjects at present employed on Government work in Athens, and, except during the withdrawal of the British Colony, some of these visitors have been continuously in residence. Rooms are, however, reserved for the use of ex-Students, convalescents, etc.

The Garden.—The very dry season has made all gardening operations both difficult and expensive. Although the new watering arrangements have worked well, the water supply is deficient, and the Director suggests the sinking of a well in the Temenos. Several improvements have been carried out; the Ailantus or 'Trees of Heaven' have all been cut down and are most useful as firewood. The cypresses grow satisfactorily, and the vista along this walk has been improved by placing against the terrace-wall at the upper end a large Attic grave-relief from the Finlay collection. The main walk down to the Hostel has been re-made with stones collected from the flower-beds, and decorated with some small pieces of architectural sculpture, also from the Finlay collection. At the south-west corner of the Hostel the Director has planted a small orchard which is making satisfactory growth; he has also arranged seed-beds and proposes to grow vegetables instead of flowers this season, as the supply in Athens is at present very inadequate.

The tennis court (shared with the American School) has been wired-in on the South side to the great convenience of the players.

Suggested Purchase of Additional Land.—No progress has been made in this matter, except that the two Schools (British and American) have made a joint offer to the Monastery for the land. The Monastery is prepared to sell, but at a higher price than the Schools offer. The matter is still under negotiation.

Acknowledgments.—The School is, as usual, much indebted to Sir Francis Elliot for his friendly help throughout a very difficult Session. All connected with the School are sorry to learn that he has now left Athens on accepting a high appointment in the Foreign Office. His constant friendship towards the School and its members in Athens will be greatly missed, but the Committee have pleasure in announcing that he has accepted nomination to an extra seat on their body.

Mr. Hill and Mr. Blegen, of the American School, have earned our deep gratitude by taking charge of the School during the disturbed times in the winter, and for help in many ways.

M. Kourouniotis, chief of the Archaeological Section of the Ministry of Education, and Dr. Staïs, Director of the National Museum, have, as usual, done all in their power to help the School. Our debt of gratitude to them, already a heavy one, has consequently increased.

Publications.—Volume XXI. of the *Annual* appeared at the end of July, and, though somewhat smaller than the volumes published under pre-war conditions, maintains the customary high standard of quality. Its contents cover a wide range of subjects, and it is fully illustrated. If possible, a volume will be published next year, but there is necessarily a dearth of material. Old Students of the School who have original unpublished papers, on work done while at the School, are invited to communicate with the Editors.

No further progress has been made with the publication of the Palaikastro finds, as all the contributors are serving their country in various ways; the work is, however, in an advanced stage.

Before the war broke out, Mr. Dawkins had made considerable progress with the projected book on Sparta. Several of the sections have been completed, including those entrusted to Mr. Guy Dickins.

Mr. Dickins had also sent to the Cambridge University Press, Vol. II. of the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, of which he was Editor. This will be published after the war.

Finance.—The Revenue Account for the year shows a credit balance of £280 6*s.* 8*d.*, as compared with a similar balance of £561 18*s.* 4*d.* for the preceding year. The total of Annual Subscriptions is £548 15*s.*, which shows a regrettable decrease of £40 as compared with last year. Expenditure is considerably higher, as a volume of the *Annual* has been issued this year, while none was issued last year and the sum of £100 (included in the charge for House Maintenance) has been spent on the installation of electric light in the Director's house.

The holding of the School in 4½ per cent. War Loan was converted into 5 per cent. War Loan in January last, and sufficient of the same Stock purchased to bring up the total holding to £3,000.

The Committee have to report with deep regret the death, during the year, of Mr. Edwin Waterhouse, who has acted for many years past as Honorary Auditor to the School. His firm, Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co., have generously offered to continue his work as Honorary Auditors, and the Committee have most gratefully accepted their offer.

MR. MACMILLAN, in moving the adoption of the Report and Balance Sheet, gave details of the war-time service of the school and its former Students, and stated that, at a later date, the Committee proposed to issue a complete list, showing the services, military and otherwise, rendered during the war.

The motion was seconded by SIR FRANCIS ELLIOT, who took occasion to refer to the valuable help given by Mr. Wace, not only by his work at the Legation, but by inviting to the Hostel various members of the Legation and others who were in Athens on national work. This had made it possible for them to live without asking for increased allowances, and represented a substantial saving to the nation. Sir Francis Elliot also referred to the valuable work done by Mr. Hasluck, whose health had undoubtedly suffered from his devotion to his duties.

The following resolution, proposed by MR. HILL and seconded by MR. FARSIDE, was carried unanimously:—

'That LIEUT.-COMMR. E. A. GARDNER, R.N.V.R., LIEUT. M. N. TOD, LIEUT. R. M. DAWKINS, R.N.V.R., and SIR CHAS. WALDSTEIN, be re-elected members, and that SIR FRANCIS ELLIOT, K.C.M.G., be elected an extra member of the Committee. That MR. YORKE be re-elected Hon. Treasurer, and MR. JOHN PENOYRE, Secretary.'

MR. PENOYRE moved and MR. ARTHUR SMITH seconded a vote of thanks to the Hon. Auditors, MESSRS. PRICE, WATERHOUSE & CO., who had kindly promised to continue the help which had been generously given since the beginning by their Senior Partner, the late Mr. Edwin Waterhouse.

LIEUT.-COMMR. E. A. GARDNER, R.N.V.R., gave an address, illustrated by lantern slides, on some of the Antiquities recently unearthed in and near Salonika.

A vote of thanks to the Lecturer moved by the RT. REV. BISHOP BROWNE was carried by acclamation.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1916–1917.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE.

3RD OCTOBER, 1916, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1917.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received for the year	548	15	6	House Maintenance (as provided from London from Oct. 1st, 1916, to Aug. 31st, 1917)	212	17	0
Subscriptions received for the years 1914–1915 and 1915–16	3	3	0	Hostel Maintenance (as provided from London to Aug. 31st, 1917)	90	6	0
Government Grant	500	0	0	Salary—Director	500	0	0
Interest on Investments to July 5th, 1917	132	16	8	Summer Allowance to Director	20	0	0
Interest on Deposit to June 30th, 1917	36	9	1	Salary—Secretary to June 30th, 1917	40	0	0
Sale of Annuals, Vols. I.–XX.	105	0	11	Publication of Annual (Vol. XXI.)	294	12	6
Rents from Hostel	140	5	3	Rent to September 30th, 1917	10	0	0
				Printing, Postage, and Stationery	13	18	7
				Expenditure in connection with Excavations	4	9	8
				Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure	280	6	8
	£1,466	10	5		£1,466	10	5

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1916, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1917.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Donations as per list	30	0	0	Library	5	0	7
				Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure	24	19	5
	£30	0	0		£30	0	0

BALANCE ACCOUNT, 2ND OCTOBER, 1917.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions paid in advance . .				3	3	0
Anniversary Fund as per last Account				289	0	6
The Gustav Sachs' Trust Fund as per last Account	72	6	9			
Received during the year	27	13	3			
				100	0	0
Balance, representing the assets of the School other than land, buildings, furniture, and library, as per last Account . . .	4,237	8	3			
Add Balance of Revenue for the year . .	280	6	8			
Add Balance of Capital Account . . .	24	19	5			
				4,542	14	4
				£4,934	17	10

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Investments—						
£2,000 India 3% Stock at par .	2,000	0	0			
£3,000 5% War Stock at 95 .	2,850	0	0			
				4,850	0	0
Cash at Bank				46	12	5
Sundry Debtors				38	5	5
				£4,934	17	10

Examined and found correct,

(*Signed*) PRICE, WATERHOUSE AND CO.,

Honorary Auditors.

3 FREDERICK'S PLACE,
OLD JEWRY, E.C. 2. *14th November*, 1917.

DONATIONS—1916-1917.

	£	s.	d.
Oxford University	25	0	0
Queen's College, Oxford	5	0	0
	£30	0	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1916-1917.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The University of Oxford	50	0	0
The Hellenic Society	50	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
The Leeds Library	1	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	20	0	0
McGill University	5	5	0
Nettleship Library	1	0	0
St. John's College Library	1	0	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne	1	1	0
University College, Reading	1	0	0
Victoria University of Manchester	5	0	0
Westminster School Library	1	1	0
Emmanuel College, Cambridge	5	0	0
	£256	12	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	256	12	0
Abercromby, Hon. J.	2	2	0
Acland, Henry Dyke-	1	1	0
Adcock, F. E.	1	0	0
Allbutt, Prof. Sir T. C.	1	1	0
Anderson, James	1	1	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0
Bailey, C.	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C.	1	0	0
Barlow, Sir T.	1	1	0
Barrington, Mrs. Russell	1	1	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	2	2	0
Bevan, E. R.	1	0	0
Blackburn, Mrs.	1	1	0
Blomfield, R.	2	2	0
Bosanquet, Miss E. P.	1	1	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	1	1	0
Briggs, Miss E. M.	1	1	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Browne, Rt. Rev. Bishop G. F.	1	1	0
Burnett, J. J.	1	1	0
Burrows, Dr. R. M.	1	1	0
Buckler, W. H.	1	1	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	1	1	0
Buxton, A. F.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£284	15	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	284	15	0
Carlisle, Miss	1	1	0
Christie, Miss A.	1	1	0
Clark, C. R.	1	0	0
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B.	1	0	0
Clausen, A. C.	1	1	0
Clissold, H.	1	0	0
Colchester, Lord	5	0	0
Cole, A. C.	2	2	0
Compton, Rev. W. C.	1	1	0
Cooke, R.	1	1	0
Crowfoot, J. W.	2	2	0
Dawkins, R. M.	1	1	0
Dickins, Mrs. G.	1	1	0
Droop, J. P.	1	1	0
Dundas, R. H.	1	0	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	1	0	0
Empedocles, G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, Sir A. J.	10	0	0
Farquhar, The Lady E.	1	1	0
Farside, Mrs.	1	1	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Forster, E. S.	1	0	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0
Carried forward	£326	12	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1916-1917 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	326	12	0
Fotheringham, J. K.	1	0	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0
Freshfield, D. W.	10	0	0
Frisch, E. S.	1	0	0
Fry, Sir E.	1	1	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	0	0
Gardiner, E. Norman	1	0	0
Gardner, Prof. E. A.	1	1	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy	2	2	0
Gerstley, Mrs. J.	1	1	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0
Goodwin, J. A.	1	1	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Griffith, F. Ll.	1	1	0
Haigh, P. B.	1	1	0
Hall, H. R.	1	1	0
Halliday, Miss C. H.	1	1	0
Halliday, W. R.	1	1	0
Handcock, W.	1	1	0
Hart, P.	1	1	0
Hasluck, P. P.	1	1	0
Heberden, Rev. C. B.	2	2	0
Hett, Capt. W. S.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, T. E.	1	1	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0
Hopkinson, J. H.	1	1	0
Hutton, Miss C. A.	3	3	0
Impey, E.	1	1	0
Jewell, H. H.	1	1	0
Kenyon, Sir F. G.	1	1	0
Keser, Dr.	1	1	0
Lascelles, B. P.	1	0	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0
Lewis, Mrs. A. S.	2	2	0
Lindley, Miss J.	1	1	0
Lloyd, Miss	1	1	0
Lorimer, Miss H. L.	1	0	0
Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
McIver, D. R.	1	0	0
Macmillan, G. A.	25	0	0
Macmillan, W. E. F.	1	1	0
Marshall, F. H.	1	1	0
Matthews, Mrs.	1	1	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
Miller, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Miller, W.	1	1	0
Milne, J. G.	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. E. H.	2	2	0
Moloney, W. A.	1	1	0
Moss, Rev. Preb. H. W.	1	1	0
Myers, E.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£469	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	469	0	0
Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0
Negroponte, Miss H.	1	1	0
Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Nightingale, Mrs. H. S.	1	1	0
Ogden, Mrs. P.	2	2	0
Palli, Mrs. F. L.	1	1	0
Pearse, Rev. J. N. H. S.	1	1	0
Pearson, Miss E. R.	1	0	0
Pease, Mrs. J. W.	5	5	0
Pennant, Hon. Alice D.	1	1	0
Penoyre, J. B.	1	0	0
Penrose, Miss	1	1	0
Pesel, Miss Louisa F.		10	6
Petrocochino, D. P.	2	0	0
Phillimore, Prof. J. S.	1	1	0
Pickard-Cambridge, A. W.	1	0	0
Piddington, J. G.	2	2	0
Pilkington, R. A.	1	0	0
Pollock, Sir F.	1	1	0
Poynter, Sir E. J.	5	0	0
Pryor, M. R.	1	0	0
Pyddoke, Miss M.	1	1	0
Radford, Miss E.	1	1	0
Reid, Dr.	1	1	0
Rendall, Dr.	1	1	0
Rendel, G. W.	2	2	0
Ridgeway, Prof. W.	1	1	0
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys	1	1	0
Rodd, Sir R.	1	1	0
Rotton, Sir J. F.	2	2	0
Salter, Mrs. H. de G.	1	1	0
Sandys, Sir J. E.	1	1	0
Seaman, Sir Owen	1	1	0
Seebohm, H. E.	1	1	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Sloane, Miss	1	1	0
Smith, A. H.	1	1	0
Tancock, Capt. A. C.	1	1	0
Tod, M. N.	1	1	0
Tuke, Miss	1	1	0
Vaughan, E. L.		10	0
Vince, J. H.	1	0	0
Wace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Wagner, H.	2	2	0
Waldstein, Sir C.	1	1	0
Ward, Dr. A. W.	1	0	0
Weber, Sir H.	1	1	0
Webster, E. W.	1	0	0
Wells, J.	1	1	0
Whibley, Leonard	1	0	0
Wilson, Major H. C. B.	1	1	0
Withers, J. J.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£539	11	6

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1916–1917 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	539	11	6
Woodhouse, Prof. W. J.	1	1	0
Woodward, A. M.	1	1	0
Wright, C. T. H.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£542	14	6

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	542	14	6
Wyndham, Hon. M.	1	1	0
Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
Total	£548	15	6

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Received during the year	551	18	6			
Paid in advance last year	3	3	0			
				555	1	6
Less Paid in advance at date	3	3	0			
Paid on account of the years 1914–15 and 1915–16	3	3	0			
				6	6	0
				£548	15	6

Subscriptions received during the year :—

for 1914–15, Dawkins, R. M.	1	1	0
for 1915–16, Dawkins, R. M.	1	1	0
„ „ Miller, W.	1	1	0
	£3	3	0

Subscriptions received in advance :—

Burnett, J. J.	1	1	0
Haigh, P. B.	1	1	0
Seebohm, H. E.	1	1	0
	£3	3	0

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the School was held in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, November 26th, 1918. MR. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, Chairman of the Managing Committee, presided and presented the following Report on their behalf for the Session 1917–1918.

THE Managing Committee beg leave to submit the following Report for the Session 1917–18.

When the Committee presented their Sessional Report last year, it seemed as if the time was still far-distant when the School would resume its normal functions as a centre of archaeological study. But during the last few weeks events have moved rapidly, and that better future for which all have waited and hoped, can now be seen in the distance as yet, but not in the dim distance. Some time must of course elapse, even after the conclusion of peace, before students will be free to take up the studies they laid aside at the call of duty and honour, but when they are ready to do so the School will be ready for them, as its machinery has been kept in good working order.

Meanwhile, in view of the important archaeological finds which may be expected in the Near East, the School, in conjunction with other Societies, is pressing the Government to establish a central archaeological commission and, without waiting for demobilisation, to make use of the many trained archaeologists who are now or have been serving, mainly as intelligence officers, in the lands which have recently come under the influence of the Associated Powers. The appointment of a special archaeological mission to investigate the antiquities of Mesopotamia is a welcome sign that the Government is alive to the importance of this matter.

Roll of Honour.—To the list published in the last volume of the *Annual* must be added the name of Erwin Wentworth Webster, student of the School in 1902–03, Captain in the King's Royal Rifles, who was killed on the Western Front. Captain Webster who, after a brilliant career at Oxford, was elected a Fellow of Wadham College, was a fine scholar, an accomplished linguist, and a keen student of Aristotle.

Among the honours awarded during the past year to former students of the

School for services rendered in connection with the war may be mentioned a C.M.G. to Commander D. G. Hogarth, R.N.V.R., the Gold Cross of the Greek Order of the Saviour to Lieut.-Commander E. A. Gardner, R.N.V.R., Silver Crosses of the same order to Lieut.-Commander Lawson and Lieut. R. M. Dawkins, an M.B.E. to Captain M. N. Tod, and a C.B.E. to Mr. John Penoyre.

The Committee regret to announce the death at the ripe age of 86 of Dr. Edwin Freshfield, one of the original Trustees of the School. Dr. Freshfield was keenly interested in the Byzantine period of Greek History and Art; he was for some time President of the Byzantine Fund, and it was mainly owing to his liberality that it was able to publish the sumptuous monograph on the Church of Saint Eirene at Constantinople, written and illustrated by an old student of the School, Mr. Walter S. George; while he had at an earlier period contributed generously to the similar work carried on by Mr. Robert Weir and Mr. Sidney Barnsley, culminating in their fine monograph on the Monastery of St. Luke in Stiris. The Committee have special pleasure in nominating for the vacant office of Trustee, Dr. Freshfield's son, Mr. Edwin Hanson Freshfield.

To the American Schools at Athens and at Rome the British School offers sympathy on the death of their distinguished alumnus Richard Norton, who died in France on August 1st, 1918, after a brief illness. Mr. Norton had had wide experience in excavation in Greece, Asia Minor and Cyrene, and was for nearly ten years resident in Rome, first as Assistant-Director and afterwards as Director of the American School. At the outbreak of the war he organised the American Motor Volunteer Ambulance, which was at first attached to the British Army, but was afterwards transferred to a French Army Corps. When it came under the American Red Cross Mr. Norton was appointed Field-Commander, and this position he retained until, in 1917, the Volunteer Ambulance was incorporated in the American Army. At his own request he was then transferred to the Naval Intelligence Department. He received the Mons ribbon, and held several French decorations bestowed for his zealous and efficient service.

Royal Visit to the School.—H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, while in Athens last April, paid a visit to the School, where he was received by the Director, assisted by Lieut.-Commander Lawson and Lieutenant Gomme, both old Students of the School. His Royal Highness inspected the Library, the Finlay Library and the garden, and when his attention was drawn to the number of old Students who had given their lives in the war, expressed the hope that some permanent memorial to them would be placed in the Hostel. By permission the Director invited the leading Greek archaeologists to meet His Royal Highness, who cordially congratulated them on the successful work of conservation and restoration of the buildings on the Acropolis.

Gifts to the School.—By the kindness of Mr. Basil Pandelis the School has acquired a very interesting unpublished letter from Lord Byron written during his

stay in Athens in 1811. After the war it will be placed in the Finlay Library, but is at present deposited in the Victoria and Albert Museum. A transcript and facsimile will be published in the *Annual*. It should be added that Mr. Pandelis placed the sum of £100 at the disposal of the Committee for the purchase of the letter, and when, at the auction sale, it was obtained for a considerably lower figure, Mr. Pandelis generously left the balance in the hands of the Treasurer.

At the instance of Dr. Stais, Director of the National Museum, the School has received from the Greek archaeological authorities a cast of the very interesting sixth-century relief found at Sunium. This will be placed in the Hostel, and is a pleasing token of the constant goodwill of the authorities.

The Director.—The Director was in residence when the Session began on November 1st, 1917, and has been continuously resident since then, except for a holiday of three weeks at Corinth in November, 1917. The whole of his time, under an arrangement made with the Foreign Office, has been devoted to the work at H.B.M. Legation, where he is still mainly employed as Head of the Relief Committee for refugees and others. The Hostel has been very full, and this and the abnormal conditions due to the war and the Greek mobilisation have made the administration of the School more difficult than usual. The Director had the honour of accompanying H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught on his visits to the Acropolis, National Museum, etc.; he has also devoted some time to acting as guide to British officers on leave or duty in Athens.

In spite of the many calls on his scanty leisure Mr. Wace has made time for literary and archaeological work. During the holiday spent at Corinth in 1917 with the American School, he assisted Mr. Blegen in museum work on the finds from the prehistoric sites round Corinth, and, in collaboration with him, prepared a paper on the Pre-Mycenaean Pottery of the Peloponnese for the forthcoming volume of the *Annual*. The same volume will contain an interesting account of Hastings and Finlay, based mainly on unpublished material in the Finlay Library, the substance of a lecture which Mr. Wace delivered to the Athens branch of the Anglo-Hellenic League last spring. In addition to his own work Mr. Wace has also supplied information to Sir Arthur Evans on the objects from the shaft-graves and other Mycenaean antiquities.

Among the extra duties entailed by the Director's official position may be mentioned his appointment by the Greek Ministry of Education to be a member of the Committee for awarding the triennial prizes for painting and sculpture, and also of the Organising Committee for founding a Greek Museum of Arts and Crafts. The Committee are glad to think that the time is not far distant when the Director will, for the first time since his appointment in 1914, be able to take up his normal work as leader in the archaeological work of Students, both in Athens and in the field. It cannot be doubted that great opportunities will offer themselves for excavation and exploration when normal conditions are re-established.

The Secretary.—All friends of the School will have seen with satisfaction that Mr. Penoyre's valuable work for the Forces has been officially recognised by the award of a C.B.E. In addition to field-glasses and comforts, he has now, at the request of the Director-General of Voluntary Organisations, undertaken the collection of games for the Forces. During his absence Miss Hutton kindly continues to give voluntary service as Acting Secretary, and this service is gratefully appreciated by the Committee, as by all friends of the School.

The Library.—The Library is necessarily kept closed, as there is no Librarian, but genuine students can always obtain admission. Some members of the American School, some Greek students and several of the British officials at present in Athens have availed themselves of it. The special thanks of the Committee and the Director are due to Lieut. A. M. Woodward, who, while on short leave in Athens, kindly devoted some time to overtaking arrears of cataloguing.

The additions to the Library have necessarily been few in number, and consist for the most part of periodicals and books presented by friends of the School, among whom may be mentioned Professor Andreades, Mr. Petrocochino, Professor Percy Gardner and Captain Sowels.

School Premises.—All absolutely necessary repairs and renewals have been carried out, but under present conditions in Greece many things are unobtainable and labour is extremely scarce. The Director has, however, devoted much time and thought to planning alterations and improvements in the Hostel, and there are hopes of carrying these out by degrees as soon as the necessary materials can be procured. As already stated, the Hostel has been very full throughout the Session, various British officers and officials, some of them old students, having been accommodated there. Last summer as many as nine people were in residence. The strain on the household staff has been very severe, but the housekeeper, Mrs. Anna Sokrides, has, as usual, faced all difficulties with cheerful courage, and has managed the internal affairs of the Hostel very well. The Committee gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging her long, efficient and devoted service. Visitors from Athens bear frequent testimony to the comfort and advantages of residence in the Hostel. The subscribers will share the satisfaction of the Committee that it has been possible to put their property to such good use while its normal inmates are otherwise occupied.

As the Hostel has generally been fully occupied by permanent residents, the Director has entertained in his own house a number of officers and old students who came to Athens for a few days, and all of whom express great appreciation of his constant kindness.

The Garden.—During the past winter and spring great progress was made with the work begun in the previous year, and as the American School undertook the laying-out of their share of the temenos, it has been possible to make jointly

various improvements, such as levelling slopes, laying out paths, and providing a shady place under the pine trees from which visitors can watch the tennis.

Last winter, to help the food situation, which was acute, most of the flower beds were turned into vegetable garden, and in spite of poor soil and late planting, good crops were obtained. Vegetables will be grown again this year, it is hoped, with even better results. In the meantime the perennial flowers make the garden very gay in spring, and many baskets of roses, carnations, larkspurs, snapdragon, etc., were sent from it and the American garden to Lady Granville's bazaar for the wives and children of Greek soldiers.

The water supply is a constant problem, especially in the summer, but by means of an alteration in the water-pipes, the cost of which was defrayed by the Director, who takes a great interest in the garden, it is now possible to obtain water for the garden without trenching on the house supply.

Purchase of Additional Land.—It will be remembered that in 1916 the monastery of the Asomaton near the School obtained leave from the Ministry of Ecclesiastics to offer for sale the plot of land on the slopes of Lycabettos directly opposite the British and American Schools on the other side of Speusippos Street. A sale by auction of some lots actually took place, but owing to the vigorous representations of the Directors of the two Schools, aided by the British and American Ministers, the sale was annulled, and the Schools were given a right of pre-emption subject to certain conditions. Since then negotiations for the purchase have gone on; several times it seemed likely these would lead to nothing, as the land was valued at a higher price than the Schools were prepared to pay, and in the spring of this year the matter was still under discussion, when some Greek friends of the two Schools took it up; with the result that the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastics has passed a special act through the Chamber authorising the monastery to sell direct to the Schools. The price is to be fixed by arbitration, but any sum above 50,000 drachmae will be paid by the Greek Government. The share of the British School will amount to about 23,000 drachmae. The Greek Government are now taking the necessary steps to value and expropriate the land, and there is reasonable ground for hoping that the purchase may be completed during the Session 1918–1919. The negotiations have been mainly in the hands of Mr. Hill, Director of the American School, and he is much to be congratulated on a result which is largely due to his energy, patience and tact. Warm thanks are also due to the Greek Government, to Mr. Dingas, Minister of Education, and to the Greek friends who interested themselves on behalf of the Schools. It will be remembered that the site on which the School is built was presented by the Greek Government, and the Committee gratefully acknowledge this fresh proof of the goodwill and the generous hospitality of Greece.

Acknowledgments.—The School has again the pleasant duty of recording its indebtedness to the help and goodwill of the Greek Archaeological authorities, and in this connection special thanks may be offered to Monsieur Kourouniotis, chief

of the Archaeological Section of the Ministry of Education, and to Dr. Stais, Director of the National Museum, who, in addition to many other attentions, has given the Director special facilities for work on the Mycenaean antiquities.

To Mr. Hill and Mr. Blegen of the American School the British School is indebted in countless ways for their cordial help and co-operation in every matter respecting the joint interests of the Schools. The Director has asked the Committee to place on record an expression of his personal gratitude for their constant help, advice and friendship. The Committee join with the Director in hoping that the friendly relations, which have always existed between the two Schools, may be yet more closely knit by the companionship in arms of the past year.

Thanks are also due to Mr. H. E. Satow, of H.B.M. Legation, who took charge of the School during the Director's absence at Corinth in November, 1917.

Publications.—Volume XXII of the *Annual* is in type, and should be published early in the new year. It contains papers by Dr. Leaf, Monsieur Rostovtzef, Mr. W. H. Buckler, Mr. van Buren, Mr. Woodhouse, Mr. F. W. Hasluck, Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard, Mr. E. N. Gardiner, and Mr. Wace. In a paper on the Pre-Mycenaean Pottery of the Peloponnese, Mr. Wace co-ordinates and arranges much scattered and fragmentary information about these important wares.

Finance.—The Revenue Account for the year shows a credit balance of £611 18*s.*, as compared with a similar balance of £280 6*s.* 8*d.* for the preceding year. The total amount of Annual Subscriptions, which have declined very materially during the four years of the war, is £560 8*s.*, or about £12 more than that of the preceding year. As no *Annual* has been published expenditure is considerably less.

The special donation of £100 received from Mr. Basil Pandelis for the purpose of acquiring for the Library a highly interesting letter written by Lord Byron from Athens in 1811, has already been referred to. A substantial balance remains in the hands of the Treasurer.

The Capital of the Gustav Sachs' Fund, which consisted of £400 British South Africa 5 per cent. Debentures, has been converted into £420 5 per cent. National War Bonds, the Debentures having been paid off during the year at a premium of 5 per cent.

During the last ten years the School has lost by death many of the friends who helped to found it, and gave generous subscriptions. The Committee do not feel it right to make any public appeal for increased support at present, but they would most earnestly beg all who value the work which the School has done in the past, and hopes to do again in the near future, not to allow that work to be crippled now by lack of funds to carry out the objects for which the School was founded thirty years ago.

MR. MACMILLAN, in moving the adoption of the Report and Balance Sheet, referred to the acquisition by the School of the unpublished Byron letter now exhibited, the gift of Mr. Basil Pandelis. He also dwelt on

the importance to the School, of the purchase of the plot of land opposite to it on the slopes of Lycabettos. All interested in the School were deeply grateful to the Greek Government for their generous intervention, which had solved all difficulties. He had pleasure in announcing that Monsieur Venizelos had charged him to convey to the Meeting his regret that he could not remain in England to attend it and his good wishes for the continued prosperity of the School. Mr. Macmillan concluded by offering the congratulations of the School to H.E. Monsieur Gennadius on his appointment as Honorary Minister Plenipotentiary to the Greek Government. His Excellency had always taken the warmest interest in the School, and he himself had a grateful recollection of help given in founding it thirty years ago.

H.E. MONSIEUR GENNADIUS thanked the Chairman for his kind reference to himself. It had been a pleasure to him to forward the interests of the School in the beginning and his interest in it would continue as long as he lived. The School had done good work and it was for that reason that his Government had been glad to facilitate the purchase of the additional land. He formally seconded the adoption of the Report and Balance Sheet which was carried unanimously.

HIS BEATITUDE MILETIUS METAXAKIS, Metropolitan of Athens and President of the Holy Synod of Greece, then addressed the Meeting in Greek, and expressed his pleasure at being present, especially on that occasion when the purchase of the additional land was announced. The land being monastic property, the matter had been submitted to him as Metropolitan, and it had given him great pleasure to approve the sale, knowing as he did that the School was a centre of learning and of enthusiasm for high ideals. It had done excellent work in the past, and he prayed that all blessings might rest on it and its work in the future.

The following resolution proposed by SIR CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH and seconded by SIR FRANCIS ELLIOT was carried unanimously :—

"That the appointment of MESSRS. WALTER LEAF and GEORGE A. MACMILLAN as Trustees of the British School at Athens be hereby confirmed, and that MR. EDWIN HANSON FRESHFIELD be appointed a Trustee in the place of the late DR. EDWIN FRESHFIELD."

In moving the resolution SIR CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH expressed his pleasure at listening to the speech of H.B. the Metropolitan; the sound of modern Greek transported him from the rain and fog of a

November evening in London to the sun and the clear air of Athens. He congratulated the Greek Government on their decision to establish a Museum of Arts and Crafts in Athens, where so much that was beautiful was to be found. Referring to the purchase of the Byron letter, he urged the formation of a collection of portraits of the archaeologists of those days; their books were on the Library shelves of the School and their portraits should be on its walls.

The following resolution moved by MR. ARTHUR SMITH and seconded by SIR THOMAS AGG-GARDNER, was carried unanimously:—

"That SIR ARTHUR EVANS, COMMANDER D. G. HOGARTH, C.M.G., SIR CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH, C.V.O., and MR. A. E. ZIMMERN, be re-elected on the Managing Committee, that MR. YORKE be re-appointed Hon. Treasurer, and MR. JOHN PENOYRE, C.B.E., be re-appointed Secretary."

Mr. Smith congratulated the School on the possession of such an excellent specimen of a Byron letter, which was also of great archaeological interest as it mentioned all the well-known names of the time.

The Chairman having read the letter to the meeting the proceedings terminated.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1917–1918.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE.

3RD OCTOBER, 1917, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1918.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received for the year	560	8	0	House Maintenance (as provided from London from Oct. 1st, 1917, to Aug. 31st, 1918)	47	9	10
Subscriptions received for the years 1915–1916 and 1916–1917	24	4	0	Hostel Maintenance (as provided from London to Aug. 31st, 1918)	269	7	0
Government Grant	500	0	0	Salary—Director	500	0	0
Interest on Investments to July 5th, 1918	210	0	0	Salary—Secretary to June 30th, 1918	40	0	0
Interest on Deposit to June 30th, 1918	5	12	9	Publication of Annual (Vol. XXI.)	29	12	4
Sale of Annuals, Vols. I.–XX.	15	1	0	Rent to September 30th, 1918	10	0	0
Rents from Hostel	221	17	1	Printing, Postage, and Stationery	24	18	3
				Expenditure in connection with Excavations	3	17	5
				Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure	611	18	0
	£1,537	2	10		£1,537	2	10

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1917, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1918.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Donations as per list	105	0	0	Library	39	0	0
				Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure	65	11	0
	£105	0	0		£105	0	0

BALANCE ACCOUNT, 2ND OCTOBER, 1918.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions paid in advance . .				3	3	0
Anniversary Fund as per last Account				289	0	6
The Gustav Sachs' Trust Fund as per last Account	100	0	0			
Received during the year	19	12	1			
				119	12	1
Balance, representing the assets of the School other than land, buildings, furniture, and library, as per last Account . . .	4,542	14	4			
Add Balance of Revenue for the year . .	611	18	0			
Add Balance of Capital Account . . .	65	11	0			
				5,220	3	4
				£5,631	18	11

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Investments—						
£2,000 India 3% Stock at par .	2,000	0	0			
£3,000 5% War Stock at 95 .	2,850	0	0			
				4,850	0	0
Cash at Bank				222	15	1
,, ,, on Deposit. . .				500	0	0
Sundry Debtors				59	3	10
				£5,631	18	11

Examined and found correct,

(*Signed*) W. CRANSTOUN TODD,
Chartered Accountant,
Auditor.

8 KING WILLIAM STREET,
CHARING CROSS, W.C. 2.

DONATIONS—1917-1918.

	£	s.	d.
B. Pandelis, Esq.	100	0	0
Queen's College, Oxford	5	0	0
	£105	0	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1917-1918.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The University of Oxford	50	0	0
The Hellenic Society	50	0	0
The Leeds Library	1	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	20	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	20	0	0
McGill University	5	5	0
Nettleship Library	1	0	0
St. John's College Library	1	0	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne	1	1	0
University College, Reading	1	0	0
Victoria University of Manchester	5	0	0
Westminster School Library	1	1	0
Emmanuel College, Cambridge	5	0	0
	£271	7	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	271	7	0
Abercromby, Lord	2	2	0
Acland, Henry Dyke-	1	1	0
Adcock, F. E.	1	0	0
Allbutt, Prof. Sir T. C.	1	1	0
Anderson, James	1	1	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0
Bailey, C.	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C.	1	0	0
Barlow, Sir T.	1	1	0
Barrington, Mrs. Russell	1	1	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	2	2	0
Bevan, E. R.	1	0	0
Blackburn, Mrs.	1	1	0
Blomfield, R.	2	2	0
Bosanquet, Miss E. P.	1	1	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	1	1	0
Bridgeman, R.	2	0	0
Briggs, Miss E. M.	1	1	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Browne, Rt. Rev. Bishop G. F.	1	1	0
Burnet, J.	1	1	0
Burrows, Dr. R. M.	1	1	0
Buckler, W. H.	1	1	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£300	9	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	300	9	0
Buxton, A. F.	1	1	0
Carlisle, Miss	1	1	0
Chance, A. F.	1	1	0
Christie, Miss A.	1	1	0
Clark, C. R.	1	0	0
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B.	1	0	0
Clausen, A. C.	1	1	0
Colchester, Lord	5	0	0
Cole, A. C.	2	2	0
Compton, Rev. W. C.	1	1	0
Cooke, R.	1	1	0
Crowfoot, J. W.	2	2	0
Dickins, Mrs. G.	1	1	0
Droop, J. P.	1	1	0
Dundas, R. H.	1	0	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	1	0	0
Empedocles, G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, Sir A. J.	10	0	0
Farquhar, The Lady E.	1	1	0
Farside, Mrs.	1	1	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Forster, E. S.	1	0	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0
Carried forward	£342	7	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1917–1918 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	342	7	0
Fotheringham, J. K.	1	0	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0
Freshfield, D. W.	10	0	0
Frisch, E. S.	1	0	0
Fry, Sir E.	1	1	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	0	0
Gardiner, E. Norman	1	0	0
Gardner, Prof. E. A.	1	1	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy	2	2	0
Gerstley, Mrs. J.	1	1	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0
Goodwin, J. A.	1	1	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Griffith, F. Ll.	1	1	0
Haigh, P. B.	1	1	0
Hall, H. R.	1	1	0
Halliday, Miss C. H.	1	0	0
Halliday, W. R.	1	1	0
Handcock, W.	1	1	0
Hart, P.	1	1	0
Hasluck, P. P.	1	1	0
Heberden, C. B.	2	2	0
Hett, Capt. W. S.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, T. E.	1	1	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0
Hopkinson, J. H.	1	1	0
Hutton, Miss C. A.	3	3	0
Impey, E.	1	1	0
Kenyon, Sir F. G.	1	1	0
Keser, Dr.	1	1	0
Lascelles, B. P.	1	0	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0
Lewis, Mrs. A. S.	2	2	0
Lindley, Miss J.	1	1	0
Lloyd, Miss	1	1	0
Lorimer, Miss H. L.	1	0	0
Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
Macmillan, G. A.	25	0	0
Macmillan, W. E. F.	1	1	0
Marshall, F. H.	1	1	0
Matthews, Mrs.	1	1	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
Miller, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Miller, W.	1	1	0
Millingen, Mrs. Van	1	1	0
Milne, J. G.	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. E. H.	2	2	0
Moloney, W. A.	1	1	0
Myers, E.	1	1	0
Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0
Negroponte, Miss H.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£485	16	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	485	16	0
Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Nightingale, Mrs. H. S.	1	1	0
Ogden, Mrs. P.	2	2	0
Palli, Mrs. F. L.	1	1	0
Pearson, Miss E. R.	1	0	0
Pease, Mrs. J. W.	5	5	0
Pennant, Hon. Alice D.	1	1	0
Penoyre, J. B.	1	0	0
Penrose, Miss	1	1	0
Pesel, Miss Louisa F.	1	1	0
Petrocochino, D. P.	2	0	0
Phillimore, Prof. J. S.	1	1	0
Pickard-Cambridge, A. W.	1	0	0
Piddington, J. G.	2	2	0
Pilkington, R. A.	1	0	0
Pollock, Sir F.	1	1	0
Poynter, Sir E. J.	5	0	0
Pryor, M. R.	1	0	0
Pyddoke, Miss M.	1	1	0
Radford, Miss E.	1	1	0
Reid, Dr.	1	1	0
Rendall, Dr.	1	1	0
Rendell, G. W.	2	2	0
Ridgeway, Prof. W.	1	1	0
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys	1	1	0
Rodd, Sir R.	1	1	0
Rotton, Sir J. F.	2	2	0
Salter, Mrs. H. de G.	1	1	0
Sandys, Sir J. E.	1	1	0
Seaman, Sir Owen	1	1	0
Seebohm, H. E.	1	1	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Sloane, Miss	1	1	0
Smith, A. H.	1	1	0
Tancock, Capt. A. C.	1	1	0
Tod, M. N.	1	1	0
Tuke, Miss	1	1	0
Vince, J. H.	1	0	0
Wace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Wagner, H.	2	2	0
Walston, Sir C.	1	1	0
Ward, Dr. A. W.	1	0	0
Weber, Sir H.	1	1	0
Wells, J.	1	1	0
Whibley, Leonard	1	0	0
Wilson, Major H. C. B.	1	1	0
Withers, J. J.	1	1	0
Woodhouse, Prof. W. J.	1	1	0
Woodward, A. M.	1	1	0
Wright, Dr. Hagberg	1	1	0
Wyndham, Hon. M.	1	1	0
Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
Total	£560	8	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1917–1918 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Received during the year	584	12	0			
Paid in advance last year	3	3	0			
				587	15	0
Less Paid in advance at date	3	3	0			
Paid on account of the years 1915–16 and 1916–17	24	4	0			
				27	7	0
				£560	8	0

Subscriptions received during the year :—

for 1915–16, Chance, A. F.	1	1	0
for 1916–17, Chance, A. F.	1	1	0
„ „ Christ Church	20	0	0
„ „ Cyprus Museum	1	1	0
„ „ Millingen, Mrs. Van	1	1	0
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*W. H. Forbes, M.A.	Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Elected 1906.
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*Rupert C. Clarke. M.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Rector of Ellesborough, Bucks, and Rural Dean of Wendover. Admitted 1886—87.
F. H. H. Guillemard. M.A., M.D., F.L.S., etc.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Montague R. James. Litt.D.	Provost of Eton. Late Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from the University, Cambridge.
R. Elsey Smith. F.R.I.B.A.	Professor of Architecture and Construction, University College, London. Appointed to Studentship by Royal Institute of British Architects, 1887—88.
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J. A. R. Munro. M.A.	Fellow, Bursar and Lecturer of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
H. Arnold Tubbs. M.A.	Pembroke College, Oxford. Craven University Fellow. Professor of Classics at University College, Auckland, N.Z. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
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†William Loring. M.A.	Warden of Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Secretary of the School, 1897—1903. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890—91, 1891—92, and 1892—93.

* Before a name signifies "deceased." † Signifies "died on Active Service." At a later date the Committee propose to issue a complete list, showing the services, military and otherwise, rendered during the war by Students of the School. † Died of wounds, October 22nd, 1915.

W. J. Woodhouse. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, N.S.W. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891—92 and 1892—93. Honorary Student of the School.
G. C. Richards. M.A.	Late Fellow of Hertford College. Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. Formerly Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889—90. Re-admitted 1890—91.
O. H. Parry. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of All Hallows, East India Dock. Formerly Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889—90.
J. F. R. Stainer. M.A., B.C.L.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90.
*R. A. H. Bickford-Smith. M.A., F.S.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.
A. G. Bather. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889—90. Re-admitted 1891—92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1892—93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893—94, as Cambridge Student.
E. E. Sikes. M.A.	Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890—91.
J. G. Milne. M.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890—91.
H. Stuart Jones. M.A.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Formerly Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890—91. Re-admitted 1892—93.
Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).	Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. Formerly Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890—91.
F. Brayne Baker. M.A.	Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92.
C. C. Inge. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of St. Giles', Oxford. Appointed 1891—92 to the Oxford Studentship.
E. F. Benson, M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892—93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893—94 as Craven Student; and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student.
J. G. Piddington. B.A. (J. G. Smith)	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891—92. Re-admitted 1895—96.
V. W. Yorke. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1893—94.
J. L. Myres. M.A.	Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Student and Tutor of Christ Church. University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. Gladstone Professor of Greek in the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1892—93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893—94 and 1894—95. Hon. Student of the School.

* Deceased.

R. J. G. Mayor. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892—93.
R. C. Bosanquet. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Director 1900—1906. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1894—95. Re-admitted as Craven Student 1895—96 and 1896—97.
J. M. Cheetham, M.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892—93.
E. R. Bevan. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
A. F. Findlay. M.A.	Sent out as holder of Brown-Downie Fellowship by the United Presbyterian Church, Divinity Hall, Edinburgh. Admitted 1894—95.
J. G. Duncan. M.A., B.D.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Minister of Kirkmichael, Ballindalloch, N.B. Admitted 1894—95.
J. E. Brooks. M.A.	St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
*H. Awdry. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894—95.
Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna)	Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—6. Re-admitted 1896—97, 1897—98 and 1898—99.
Archibald Paterson.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
C. R. Rowland Clark.	Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895—96, and re-appointed 1896—97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
C. C. Edgar. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—99.
F. R. Earp. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
*F. A. C. Morrison. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
H. H. West. M.A.	Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Miss C. A. Hutton.	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Pieter Rodeck.	Architect, Cairo. Admitted 1896—97 as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy.
J. G. C. Anderson. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and sometime Senior Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
J. W. Crowfoot. M.A.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Director of Education, Sudan Government. Formerly Inspector in the Ministry of Education, Cairo. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
W. W. Reid. B.D.	Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Minister of the Church of Scotland, Dumbarton, N.B. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.

A. E. Henderson. F.S.A. R.B.A.	Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1897—98. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—99, 1901—02, and 1902—03.
W. A. Curtis. D.Litt., D.D. (Edin.)	Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Regius Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh. Formerly Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen. Admitted 1897—98.
A. J. Spilsbury. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Head Master of Wakefield Grammar School. Formerly Senior Classical Master, City of London School. Admitted 1897—98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
E. B. Hoare.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, as Architectural Student.
J. C. Lawson. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
C. D. Edmonds. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Royal Naval College, Osborne. Formerly at Aldenham School. Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898—99.
Sir John H. Marshall, Kt. C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A.	Scholar of King's College, Cambridge. Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Admitted 1898—99. Re-admitted as Prendergast Student, 1900—01, Craven Student, 1901—2.
*Clement Gutch. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898—99, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship.
F. B. Welch. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Head Master of Wadham House Prep. School, Hale, Cheshire. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
T. D. Atkinson. F.R.I.B.A.	Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Ely. Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898—99.
J. K. Fotheringham. M.A., D.Litt.	Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898—99.
J. H. Hopkinson. M.A.	University College, Oxford. Vicar of Holy Trinity, Colne, Lancs. Formerly Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1899—1900 and 1900—01.
S. C. Kaines-Smith.	Magdalene College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Cambridge Studentship.
Miss O. C. Köhler (Mrs. Charles Smith).	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900.
D. Theodore Fyfe. F.R.I.B.A.	Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.
†K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Lecturer at the Queen's University, Belfast. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900—01.
R. D. Wells. M.A., F.R.I.B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900—01.

† Killed in action, September 4th, 1914.

J. ff. B. Penoyre. M.A., C.B.E.	Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for Promoting Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British School at Athens. Admitted 1900—01. Re-admitted 1906—7, 1907—8.
Marcus N. Tod. M.A.	Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902—1904. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship," 1901–02.
F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Sometime Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director and Librarian of the School from 1906–1915. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1902—03, 1904—05, 1905—06. Honorary Student of the School.
C. Heaton Comyn. A.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I.	Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1903–04.
Miss H. L. Lorimer.	Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1910—11.
Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn.	Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901—02.
A. P. Oppé. B.A.	New College, Oxford. Board of Education. Formerly Examiner in the Board of Education. Lecturer in Greek at St. Andrews University, and Lecturer in Ancient History at Edinburgh University. Admitted 1901—02.
W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D., M.A.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902—03.
C. T. Currelly. M.A., F.R.G.S., O. Medj.	Victoria College, Toronto. Director of the Royal Museum, Ontario. Formerly Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903–04.
R. McG. Dawkins. M.A.	Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Director of the School from 1906—14. School Student. Admitted as Craven Student, 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903—04, 1904—05, 1905—06.
E. S. Forster. M.A., F.S.A.	Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Lecturer in Greek in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903–04, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Director of the School. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology at University of St. Andrews. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903—04, 1904—05, 1905—06, 1906—07, 1907—08, 1908—09, 1909—10, 1910—11, 1911—12. Honorary Student of the School.
†E. W. Webster. M.A.	Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy, 1904. Admitted 1902—03.
J. B. Fulton. A.R.I.B.A.	Soane Student. Admitted 1902—03.

† Killed in action, April 9th, 1917.

E. F. Reynolds.	Admitted 1902—03.
M. O. B. Caspari. B.A.	Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. University Scholar in German. Admitted 1903—04.
J. L. Stokes. B.A.	Formerly Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School since 1905. Admitted (as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College), 1903–04.
Miss M. K. Welsh (Mrs. A. M. Daniel).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Kennedy Studentship. Admitted 1903–04.
†G. Dickins. M.A.	Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1904—05, 1905—06. Re-admitted as School Student, 1906—07. Re-admitted 1907—08, 1908—09, 1912—13.
C. C. T. Doll. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Superintending Architect at the excavations at Knossos since 1905. Admitted 1904—05.
C. H. Hawes. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Anthropology, Dartmouth College, U.S.A. Admitted 1904—05, 1908—09.
W. A. Kirkwood. M.A.	University College, Toronto. Admitted 1904—05.
H. J. W. Tillyard. M.A.	Caius College, Cambridge. Late Lecturer in Greek, University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1904—05 as Assistant Librarian. Re-admitted 1905—06 (on appointment to Studentship), 1906—07, 1908—09. Re-admitted 1912—13.
Miss G. M. A. Richter. Litt.D.	Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Curator in Department of Classical Antiquities, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Admitted 1904—05.
J. P. Droop. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Late Assistant to Dr. Stein in the arrangement of his collections. Admitted 1905—06. Prendergast Student 1906—07. Re-admitted as School Student, 1907—08, 1908—09, 1910—11, 1912—13, 1913–14.
Miss M. Hamilton. M.A. D.Litt. (Mrs. G. Dickins).	University of St. Andrews. Holder of a Research Fellowship under the Carnegie Trust. Admitted 1905—06, 1906—07.
A. C. B. Brown. M.A.	Scholar of New College, Oxford. Fereday Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Manchester University. Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Admitted 1905—06.
F. Orr.	Admitted 1905—06.
R. Traquair. A.R.I.B.A.	Admitted 1905—06 (on appointment to an Architectural Studentship). Professor of Architecture, McGill University, Montreal. Re-admitted 1906—07. Student of the Byzantine Fund.
Miss E. B. Abrahams. M.A. (Mrs. Culley).	Bedford College, London. Admitted 1905—06.
W. J. Farrell. M.A.	Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1906—07 1907—08, 1908—09.
Walter S. George.	Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal College of Art. Soane Medallist of Royal Institute of British Architects. Admitted 1906—07. Re-admitted 1908—9. 1909—10, as Student of the Byzantine Research Fund. Re-admitted 1912—13.

† Died of wounds, July 17th, 1916.

T. E. Peet. B.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Officer of Egypt Explor. Fund. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1906—07, 1908—09.
A. M. Woodward. M.A.	Late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Assistant Lecturer in Classics and Ancient History at the University of Leeds. Assistant Director, 1909—10. Admitted 1906—7, 1907—08, 1908—09.
W. M. Calder. B.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Professor of Greek in Victoria University, Manchester. Formerly Wilson Travelling Fellow, Aberdeen University. Research Student, Brasenose College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
W. Harvey.	Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy Admitted 1907—08.
H. Pirie-Gordon. M.A., M.C.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
M. S. Thompson. M.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Holder of Chas. Oldham University Scholarship. Craven Fellow, School Student. Admitted 1907—08, 1908—09, 1909—10, 1910—11, 1911—12.
A. C. Sheepshanks. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Eton. Admitted 1907—08.
N. Whatley. M.A.	Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
†G. L. Cheesman. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of New College, Oxford. Admitted 1908—09.
A. W. Gomme. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Greek, University of Glasgow. Previously Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Liverpool University. Prendergast Student. Admitted 1908—09.
L. B. Budden. M.A., A.R.I.B.A.	Travelling Student in Architecture of the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909—10.
S. W. Grose. M.A.	Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. From 1914, Cataloguing McClean Collection of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum. School Student. Admitted 1909—10.
H. A. Ormerod. M.A., M.C.	Queen's College, Oxford. Assistant Lecturer in Greek, University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909—10, 1910—11.
H. H. Jewell.	Royal Academy Gold Medallist. Admitted 1909—10.
W. R. Halliday. B.A., B.Litt.	New College, Oxford. Rathbone Professor of Ancient History in the University of Liverpool. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1910—11. Re-admitted 1912—13.
Miss D. Lamb. O.B.E.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910—11; 1913—14.
Miss L. E. Tennant. (Mrs. F. J. Watson Taylor.)	Admitted 1910—11.
E. S. G. Robinson. B.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Assistant in the Coin and Medal Dept., British Museum. School Student. Admitted 1910—11.
L. B. Tillard. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910—11.
A. J. Toynbee. M.A.	Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1911—12.
R. S. Darbishire. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1911—12.
Miss M. M. Hardie. (Mrs. F. W. Hasluck.)	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted as School Student 1911—12.
E. M. W. Tillyard. M.A.	Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1911—12.

† Killed in action, August 10th, 1915.

M. L. W. Laistner. B.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Late Lecturer in Archaeology and Ancient History, Queen's University, Belfast. Craven Student. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14 as School Student.
S. Casson. B.A.	St. John's College, Oxford. School Student. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14.
R. S. Lambert.	Repton School.
Gordon Leith.	Holder of Herbert Baker Studentship. Admitted 1912—13.
C. A. Scutt. B.A., M.C.	Prendergast Student of the University of Cambridge. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14.
†R. M. Heath. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1913-14.
J. Boxwell. B.A.	Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin. Travelling Scholar of Union of South Africa. Admitted 1913–14.
Miss M. N. L. Taylor.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1913—14.
J. Arnott Hamilton. M.A.	University of Edinburgh. Holder of the Blackie Scholarship. Admitted 1913—14.
Miss E. Radford.	Admitted 1913—14.
Miss Agnes Conway.	Admitted 1913—14.
Rev. W. A. Wigram. D.D.	Admitted 1913—14.
†C. B. Moss-Blundell, B.A.	New College, Oxford. School Student elect 1914—15.

† Killed in action, September 16th, 1916.
† Killed in action, September 26th, 1915.

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	,,	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	,,	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	,,	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	,,	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	,,	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	,,	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	,,	1903
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	,,	1903.
H. W. Allen, Esq.	,,	1906.
W. Miller, Esq.	,,	1906.
George Kennedy, Esq.	,,	1906.
A. E. Zimmern, Esq.	,,	1910.
Miss Negroponte.	,,	1912.
C. J. Ellingham, Esq.	,,	1913.
Capt. H. M. Greaves, R.A.	,,	1913.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.

(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following:—

(1) The Trustees of the School.

(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.

(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.

(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following :—

(1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.

(2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.

(3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students, and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to assist in editing the School Annual.

XXIX. (*a*) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (*b*) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c. which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of twelve shillings a week for the smaller, and fourteen shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel. These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, members of the Committee, and ex-directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be seventeen shillings and sixpence until further notice.

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

Revised, 1913.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1916—1917.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, ESQ., LL.D.
WALTER LEAF, ESQ., Litt.D.
GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, ESQ., D.Litt., *Chairman*.
} *Trustees.*

PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Oxford.
SIR JOHN SANDYS, Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Cambridge.
MISS JANE E. HARRISON, D.Litt., LL.D. Appointed by the Hellenic Society.
MISS C. A. HUTTON, *ex-officio* as joint editor of the *Annual*.

PROFESSOR R. C. BOSANQUET, M.A.
R. M. DAWKINS, ESQ., M.A.
J. P. DROOP, ESQ., M.A.
PROFESSOR ERNEST GARDNER, Litt.D,
D. G. HOGARTH, ESQ., M.A.
SIR ARTHUR J. EVANS, D.Litt., LL.D.
PROFESSOR J. LYNTON MYRES, M.A.
SIR CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH, LL.D.
M. N. TOD, ESQ., M.A.
SIR CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt.D.
L. WHIBLEY, ESQ., M.A.
A. E. ZIMMERN, ESQ., M.A.
} Appointed by the Subscribers.

V. W. YORKE, ESQ., M.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C. 4.
JOHN ff. B. PENOYRE, ESQ., M.A., *Secretary*, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C. 1.

DIRECTOR, 1916—1917.

A. J. B. WACE, ESQ., M.A., Late Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1917—1918.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, ESQ., LL.D.
WALTER LEAF, ESQ., Litt.D.
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CONTRIBUTORS to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* are requested to use the following systems of transliteration when writing in English such Greek words as have not become part of the English language :—

ANCIENT GREEK.

Vowels.

$\alpha = a$:
$\left\{ \begin{matrix} \epsilon \\ \eta \end{matrix} \right. = e$: } krater, lekane.

$\iota = i$: kalpis.

$\left\{ \begin{matrix} o \\ \omega \end{matrix} \right. = o$: kothon, kantharos, Amyklaion.

$\upsilon = y$ after a consonant, as aryballos, kylix ; *u* after another vowel as boule.

$\alpha\iota = ai$: Aigion, Erythrai, except at the end of words, such as Mycenae, which are commonly Latinised in form, when *ae* may be used.

$\epsilon\iota = ei$: Meidias.

$o\iota = oi$: Chalkioikos.

$\upsilon\iota = ui$: muia.

$\alpha\upsilon = au$: Aulis.

$\epsilon\upsilon = eu$: Eutychos.

$o\upsilon = ou$: boule.

Consonants.

$\beta = b$; $\gamma = g$; $\delta = d$; $\zeta = z$; $\theta = th$; $\kappa = k$[1] ; $\lambda = l$; $\mu = m$; $\nu = n$; $\xi = x$; $\pi = p$; $\rho = r$; σ, $\varsigma = s$; $\tau = t$; $\phi = ph$; $\chi = ch$; $\psi = ps$; $\gamma\gamma = ng$; $\gamma\kappa = nk$; $\gamma\chi = nch$; $\dot{\rho} = rh$.

[1] κ never = *c* except for place-names like Corinth, Mycenae, or some names of persons like Cleon, which have become English words.

Accents.

Contributors are requested to indicate accents and breathings very clearly and accurately.

MODERN GREEK.[1]

Vowels.

$\left.\begin{matrix} \alpha = a: \\ \epsilon = e: \\ \eta = e: \\ \iota = i: \end{matrix}\right\}$ Πέντε Πηγάδια = Pénte Pegádia

$\left\{\begin{matrix} o \\ \omega \end{matrix}\right. = o:$ Γεώργιος = Geórgios.

$\upsilon = y:$ Μυλάοι = Myláoi. But for *αυ*, *ευ*, *ου* see below.

$\alpha\iota = ai:$ Καισαριανή = Kaisariané.

$\epsilon\iota = ei:$ Ἁγία Εἰρήνη = Hagía Eiréne.

$o\iota = oi:$ Μύλοι = Mýloi.

$\upsilon\iota = ui:$ ψυχουϊός = psychouiós.

$o\upsilon = ou:$ Σκριπού = Skripoú.

$\left\{\begin{matrix} \alpha\upsilon \\ \epsilon\upsilon \end{matrix}\right. = af$ and *ef* before unvoiced consonants (*θ*, *κ* (*ξ*, *ψ*), *π*, *ς*, *τ*, *φ*, *χ*) and *αυ*, *ευ* before vowels and voiced consonants: Εὐθύμιος = Efthýmios; Λαύρα = Lávra.

Consonants.

$\beta = v$; $\gamma = g$, but $\gamma\gamma$, $\gamma\kappa$ and $\gamma\chi$ as *ng*, *nk* and *nch*; $\delta = d$; $\zeta = z$; $\theta = th$; $\kappa = k$; $\lambda = l$; $\mu = m$; $\nu = n$; $\xi = x$; $\pi = p$; $\rho = r$; $\rho\rho = rrh$; $\dot{\rho} = rh$; σ, $\varsigma = s$; $\tau = t$; ϕ, χ, $\psi = ph$, *ch*, *ps*.

The rough breathing to be written h: Ἅγιος Γεώργιος = H. Geórgios.

Accents.

Accents, in all cases to be written as acute, to be indicated.

In any case where the Greek form of the word is felt to be obscured it may be added in Greek letters (in brackets) the first time a word occurs, and conversely the exact pronunciation, if it should be of importance for any reason, may be specially indicated.

[1] The arguments in support of this system will be found in Mr. R. M. Dawkins' paper on 'The Transliteration of Modern Greek' in *B.S.A.* vol. xv.

ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

For the conventions respecting the indication of quotations from ancient and modern authorities, titles of periodical and collective publications, transliteration of inscriptions, and quotations from MSS. and literary texts, contributors are referred to the accompanying notes drawn up by the Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and kindly placed by them at the disposal of contributors to the *Annual*.

[REPRINTED FROM *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VOL. XXIX., PART II., 1909, PP. LXXXVII—IX.]

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Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

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Six, *Protogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; *e.g.* Dittenb. *Syll.*^{2} 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

A.-E.M. = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M. Coins = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Rings = British Museum Catalogue of Finger-Rings.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Jewellery = British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery.
B.M. Sculpt. = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
B.M. Terracottas = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
B.M. Vases. = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R. = Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Instituto.
Busolt = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
C.R. St. Pét. = Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. *O.G.I.* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Dittenb. *Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. = Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften (or Collitz-Bechtel).
Gerh. *A.V.* = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingensche Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Head, *H.N.*[2] = Head, Historia Numorum. Revised Edition, 1910.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.[1]
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Klio = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Liverpool Annals = Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of University of Liverpool.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles. = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.

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[1] The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows :—

I.G.	I. =	Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.
,,	II. =	,, ,, aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora.
,,	III. =	,, ,, aetatis Romanae.
,,	IV. =	,, Argolidis.
,,	VII. =	,, Megaridis et Boeotiae.
,,	IX. =	,, Graeciae Septentrionalis.
,,	XII. =	,, Insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.
,,	XIV. =	,, Italiae et Siciliae.

Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.
Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.
Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.
Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Philol. = Philologus.
Ramsay, *C.B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.
Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.
Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.
Reinach, *Rép. Vases* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.
Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.
Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.
Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.
Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.
Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.
Röm. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.
Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.
S.M.C. = Sparta Museum Catalogue.
T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.
Z.f.N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

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. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

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Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

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Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

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[1] In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence at the School at Athens.

March, 1919.

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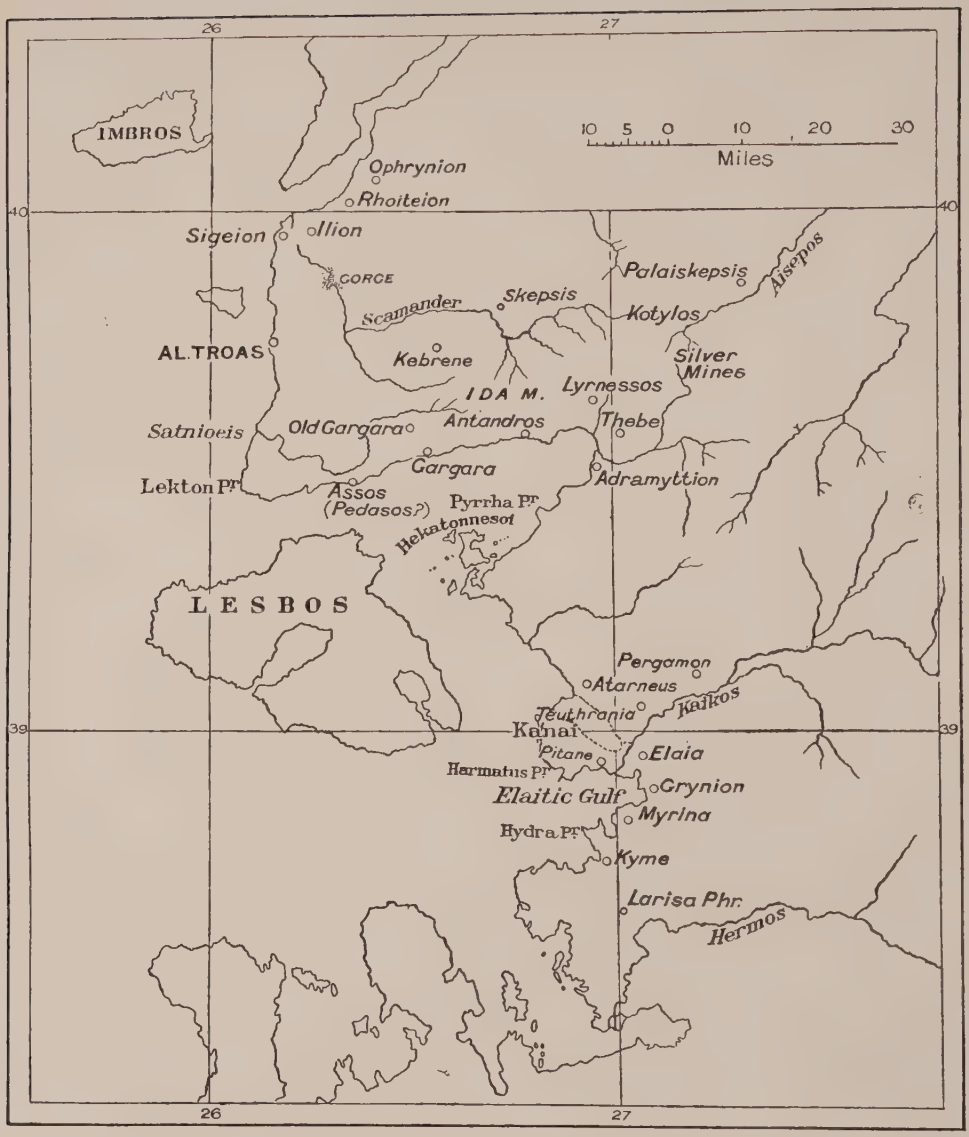
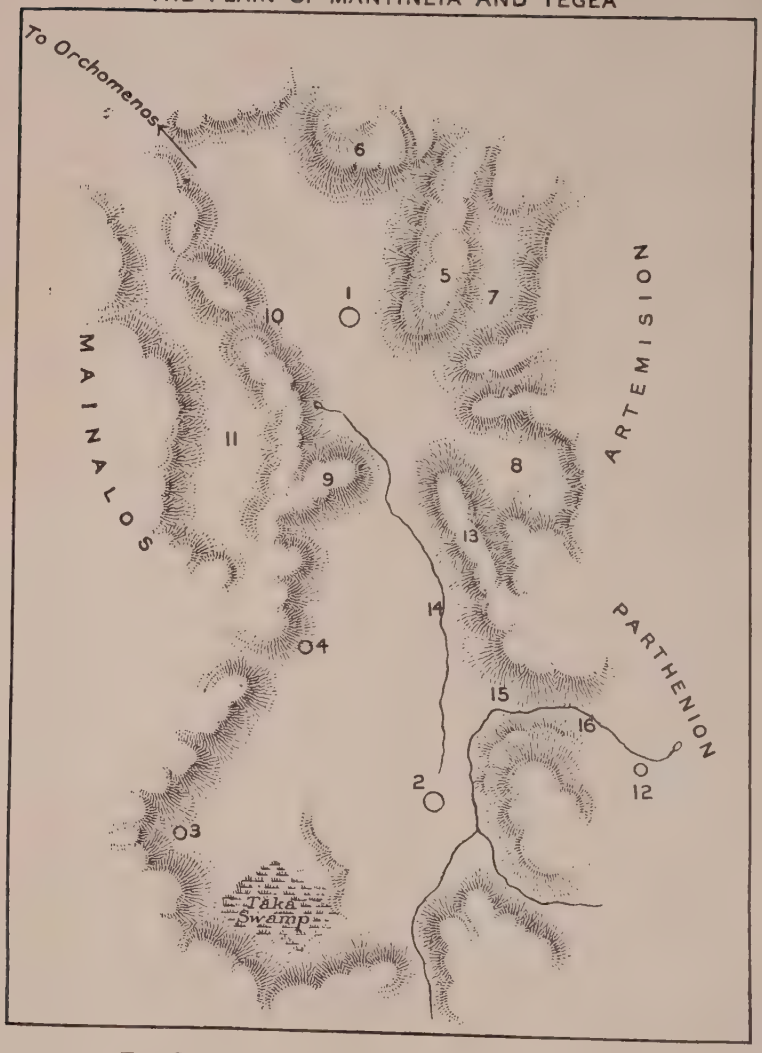


STRABO AND DEMETRIOS OF SKEPSIS: SKETCH-MAP OF THE TROAD.

THE PLAIN OF MANTINEIA AND TEGEA



THE CAMPAIGN AND BATTLE OF MANTINEIA, B.C. 418.

1. Mantineia. 2. Tegea. 3. Pallantion. 4. Tripolitzá. 5. Alesion. 6. Armeniá Mt. 7. Argon Pedion. 8. Plain of Luká. 9. Mýtika. 10. Defile of Kapsiá. 11. Alkimedon Plain. 12. Vértsova. 13. Kapnístra. 14. R. Zanovísta. 15. Stenó. 16. R. Sarandapotamós.

Athens – January 20th 1811 –

My dear Hodgson,

In most of your letters, that is to say two the only ones I have received of yours, you complain of my silence, this complaint I have = sume to be removed by this time, as I have written frequently, but more particularly by Drake is of course long ago landed, and will amply gratify any fear a = thirsty you may have beyond the limits of a letter. – – I also wrote by the Black Joke which Lower was taken off Algiers with the Capt. Moses Kennedy & several bags of long letters, but especially Hobhouse's intimates have to regret the cap = ture of some enormous packets, which cost him a world of pains at Constantinople in the Road & elsewhere, as I can witness, & unless the French government publish them, I am afraid we have little chance of recovering these inestimable manuscripts. – But then to make amends he himself followed close on the heels of his letters (by the bye I fear heels of letters is a very incorrect metaphor) and will tell the world all how & about it, unless he

however don't look quite so magnificent after the Italians of Cadiz, Lisbon, Constantinople & Gibraltar not forgetting Malta. I wish to be sure I had a few books, one's own works for ins= = tance, any damned nonsense in a long journey. – I had a struggling number of the Pleasures given me by a con= = fessionate Capt of a private lately, it contains the reply to the Edinburgh Review pamphlet, on the Scha= = botic controversy, the reviewer seems to be in a perilous passion & hears at a deal of Blackguard as the Sailors call it. – – You know to direct to Malta where my letters are or ought to be forwarded. – In two days I shall be twenty three, and 2nd above a year and a half out of England. – I suppose you & Drury sometimes drink one's health on a speech day, & I trust we shall meet merrily, and make a tour some summer to Wales or Scotland, it will be a great relaxation to me jaunting once more in a chay. – I need not write at length as Hobhouse is himself full of remarks, and it would be cruel to curtail him of a syllable. – Still him I have written to him frequently, as indeed I have to yourself and also to Drury & others, but this is a blasing distance for a "single sheet." – Yours always Byron

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1 2

THE MOSQUES OF THE ARABS AT CONSTANTINOPLE: 1. THE MINARET OF ARAB DJAMI. 2 THE DOORWAY UNDER THE MINARET.

1 2

3

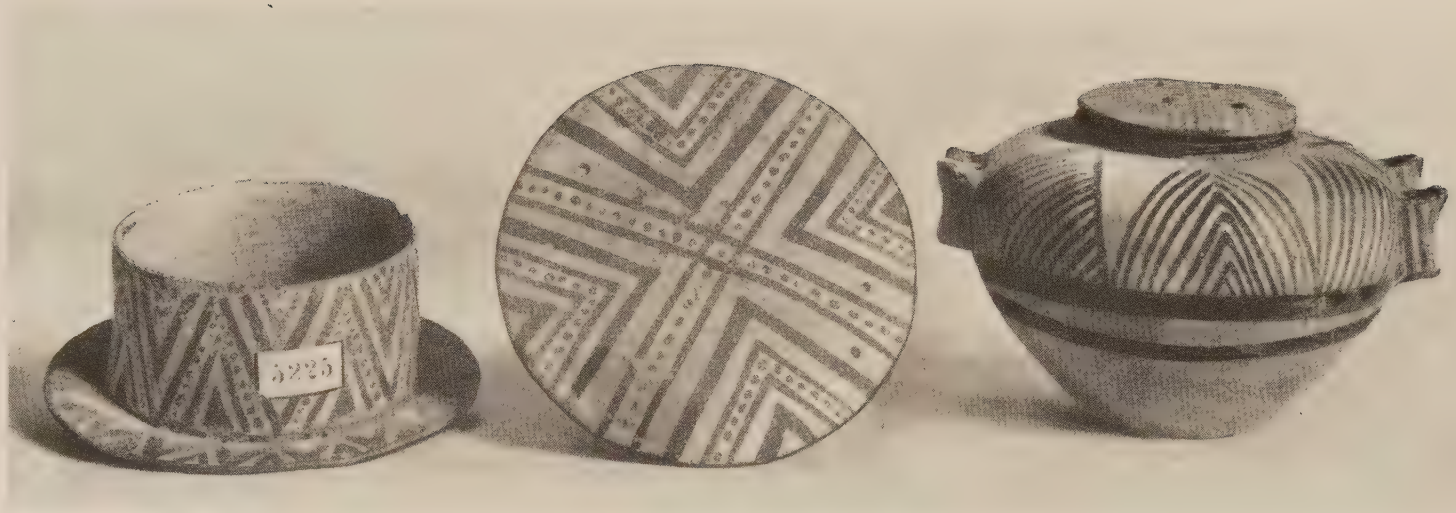
THE PRE-MYCENAEAN POTTERY OF THE MAINLAND: EARLY HELLADIC WARE FROM CORINTH.
1. ASKOS, GROUP I (*b*). *2*, 3. JUG AND SAUCEBOAT, GROUP II (*b*). (Scale 1 : 2).

1

2

THE PRE-MYCENAEAN POTTERY OF THE MAINLAND: EARLY HELLADIC WARE. 1. TANKARD FROM CORINTH, GROUP III (*a*) 2. 2. SAUCEBOAT FROM SPEDOS, NAXOS, GROUP III (*a*) 1. (Athens, Nat. Mus., No. 6107.) (Scale 1 : 2.)

THE PRE-MYCENAEAN POTTERY OF THE MAINLAND: EARLY HELLADIC WARE, GROUP III (*a*) 2, FROM CHALANDRIANE, SYRA (Athens, Nat. Mus., Nos. 4988, 4969), AND SPEDOS, NAXOS (*ibid.* No. 6109). (Scale 1 : 2.)



THE PRE-MYCENAEAN POTTERY OF THE MAINLAND: EARLY HELLADIC WARE, GROUP III (*a*) 2, FROM CHALANDRIANE, SYRA (Athens, Nat. Mus., Nos. 5225, 5170). (Scale 1 : 2.)

1

2

THE PRE-MYCENAEAN POTTERY OF THE MAINLAND: 1. CUP FROM CORINTH, MATTPAINTED WARE, GROUP II. 2. GOBLET FROM CORINTH, EPHYRAEAN WARE. (Scales 1 : 2.)

THE PRE-MYCENAEAN POTTERY OF THE MAINLAND: MATTPAINTED WARE, GROUP II. SHERDS FROM CORINTH. (Scale 1:2.)

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